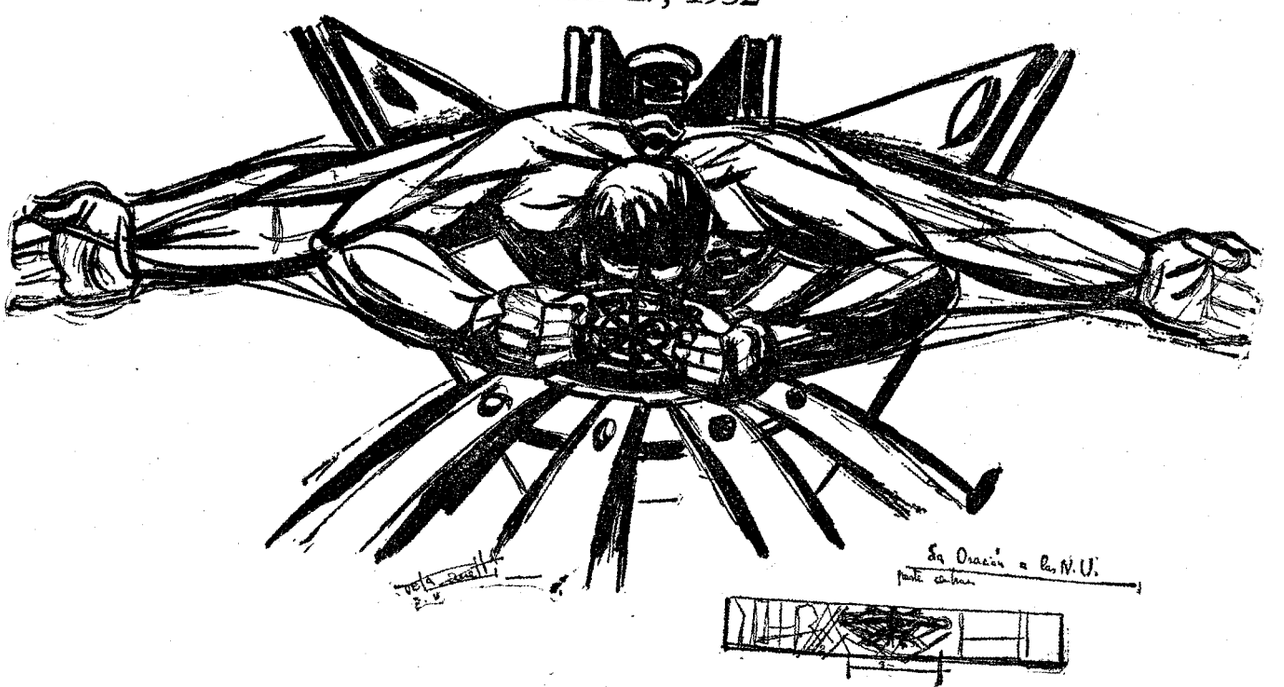
American Christmas: 1952—*Nelson Algren*

THE Nation

December 27, 1952



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AMERICAN CHRISTMAS, 1952

WHEN the wise old kings of Egypt decided to have a ball, I'm assured, they placed a mummy at the head of the table to remind themselves, even at the height of the festivities, of their own mortality. We might today with equal wisdom, in this our own season of celebration, nod respectfully toward the head of our own high-heaped board. Lest we also prove too proud.

For ball or no ball, any season at all, we live today in a laboratory of human suffering as vast and terrible as that in which Dickens and Dostoevski wrote, the only real difference being that the England of Dickens and the Russia of Dostoevski could not afford the sound screens and the smoke screens with which we so ingeniously conceal our true condition from ourselves.

So accustomed have we become to the testimony of the photo-weeklies, backed by witnesses from radio and TV, establishing us as the happiest, healthiest, sanest, wealthiest, most inventive, fun-loving, and tolerant folk yet to grace the earth of man that we tend to forget that these are bought-and-paid-for witnesses and that all their testimony is perjured.

FOR IT IS NOT in the afternoon in Naples nor yet at evening in Marseilles, not in Indian hovels half sunk in an ancestral civilization's ruined halls or within lion-colored tents pitched down the Sahara's endless edge that we find faces debauched by sheer uselessness. Not in the backwash of poverty and war but in the backwash of prosperity and progress.

Here in the back streets and the boulevards of New York and Chicago and Los Angeles, unused, unusable, and useless faces, so purposeless yet so smug, harassed, or half-dehumanized, so self-satisfied yet somehow so abject—for complacency struggles strangely there with guilt. Faces of the American Century, full of such an immense irresponsibility toward themselves.

As though the human cost of our marvelous technology has indeed been much too great.

Do American faces so often look so lost because they are most tragically trapped between a very real dread of coming alive to something more than merely existing and an equal dread of going down to the grave without having done more than merely exist?

If so, this is truly the great American disease, and would account in part for the fact that we lead the world today in incidence of insanity, criminality, alcoholism, narcoticism, cancer, homicide, and perversion in sex as well as perversion just for the pure hell of the thing.

NEVER BEFORE till here and now have men and women been so divided by the discrepancy between life and the representation of life.

Nowhere has any people set itself a moral code so rigid while applying it so flexibly.

Never has any people been so outwardly confident that God is on its side while inwardly terrified lest He be not.

"It is as if we are being endowed with a vast and thoroughly appointed body," Walt Whitman prophesied, "and left with little or no soul."

A consideration recently emphasized by William Faulkner when he observed, in accepting the Nobel Prize for Literature, that "the young man or woman writing today has forgotten the problems of the heart in conflict with itself. They write not of life but of lust. Not of the heart but of the glands."

I PURELY DOUBT that the young man or woman writing today has forgotten a thing. More likely, he is simply so intimidated by our souped-up drive toward conformity that he declines any risk which might conceivably imperil his livelihood.

For how can he write of the heart and yet conform? There are no Broyles bills for the heart. Its loyalty cannot be bounded by precinct or ward. The heart has but one nationality and that humanity's.

Yet, precisely as the Russians drive blindly to penalize all independence of action and thought, our specialists press the stethescope of constituted authority to the American breast in the hope of catching the faint murmur of dissent.

The condition of liberty is the capacity to doubt one's own faith and to doubt it out loud as well.

The Out-Loud Doubters who took American thought out of the vault where the McCarthys and McCarrans of their time had locked it—Dreiser and Mencken and Sinclair Lewis and Lincoln Steffens—are down in the dust of the '20's.

And again the anonymous little men in the clean white collars will assure us, through editorial and rotogravure, that only by superbazooka and thunderjet can our famous American way of life be saved.

That if we can but build a space platform before anyone else we shall thus insure national contentment for keeps.

A Carthaginian faith in the ships of trade and the chariots of war as sound as Whittaker Chambers. As misleading as MacArthur. As complacent as Capehart. As suicidal as Forrestal. As false as McCarthy.

"Now git out of the way," Mr. Dooley once doubted out loud, "for here comes Property, drunk 'n raisin' Cain."

BUT BEHIND Property's billboards and Property's headlines and Property's pulpits and Property's arsenals, the people of Dostoevski and Dickens yet endure the ancestral problems of the heart.

It is there that the young man or woman seeking to report the American Century truthfully today will have to seek, if it is the truth he seeks.

A Merry Christmas to all. And to all a good night.

NELSON ALGREN

[Mr. Algren was asked recently by the editor of the Chicago Daily News *to comment on the state of American writing today. His reply appeared in the* Daily News *on December 3 and is reprinted above with the author's and the paper's permission. Mr. Algren is the author of "The Man with the Golden Arm," which won the National Book Award in 1949 as the most distinguished American novel of the year.]*

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Bill of Rights: Burial or Resurrection?

ON DECEMBER 15, in an impressive ceremony, the Bill of Rights, the Constitution, and the Declaration of Independence were removed from the Library of Congress and placed in a shrine under the dome of the National Archives Building in Washington. Sealed in a purified helium atmosphere between sheets of glass, the sacred documents will now be protected against chemical decay and insect damage. At night they will be lowered into an ingenious fifty-ton safe manufactured by the Mosler Safe Company, makers of the gold-storage vaults at Fort Knox, and guaranteed to provide "security against almost every conceivable hazard."

But there are certain hazards which even the guaranties of the Mosler Safe Company do not cover. One of them is complacency. On the occasion of this 161st anniversary of the Bill of Rights, the American Civil Liberties Union has announced that according to newspaper editors in nineteen cities civil liberties in general are better safeguarded today than they were a year ago. Do the national and local officers of the A. C. L. U. actually share this judgment? It was only the other day that Justice William O. Douglas, in an address before the Authors' Guild of America, said that the pulse beat of freedom is feebler now than at any other time in the history of the United States. And the A. C. L. U. apparently forgot to poll the Pittsburgh *Post Gazette,* which in a fine editorial titled A Living Bill of Rights has declared that "the almost hysterical attack on civil liberties threatening the United States today" is "no longer a nibbling at the Bill of Rights, but a threat to engulf and destroy it."

An even greater danger than complacency is found in the attitude of persons who, while professing undying devotion to the liberties of prosperous majorities, refuse to stand up for those of despised minorities. These are the people who, as President Truman observed in his speech dedicating the new shrine, believe that the immortal phrase, "we, the people," should be amended to read: "some of the people of the United States, but not including those we disapprove of or disagree with, do ordain and establish the Constitution." "They are people," as Mr. Truman put it, "who believe it is too dangerous to proclaim liberty throughout all the land and to all the inhabitants."

Exceptions to the unequivocal, unconditional, and unqualified guaranties of the Bill of Rights, if tolerated too long, will sooner or later lead to its destruction. This—the fundamental point about constitutional freedoms—was stated with great force and clarity by Justice Hugo Black in his concurring opinion in the recent Supreme Court decision invalidating Oklahoma's loyalty oath, one of the few hopeful omens for civil liberties in 1952. "We must have freedom of speech for all," Justice Black pointed out, "or we will in the long run have it for none but the cringing and the craven. . . . The right to speak on matters of public concern must be wholly free or eventually it will be wholly lost." The moment we say that those who have been labeled "subversive" have all the rights of other citizens *except* that they may not be teachers or government employees or work in industrial plants or travel abroad or publish books or give lectures or appear on radio programs, we have destroyed the underlying principle of the Bill of Rights. Painful as it may be, we must either defend the civil liberties of all citizens who are adult, competent (in the perhaps too generous sense that they have not yet been committed to institutions), and law-abiding or forfeit our right as individuals to claim the protection of those guaranties.

ALONG with complacency and cowardice, blindness to reality is a major threat to the Bill of Rights today. Many opinion leaders feel compelled to assume that every measure proposed in the name of national security is actually intended to achieve that end. To assume this is in many cases to assume also the necessity for the particular measure, even though it may appear dangerous in principle. Once this concession is made, opposition to the measure on its merits is no longer possible. Even the skeptic is driven to accept it as a weapon to be

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• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Bill of Rights: Burial or Resurrection? 589
The Shape of Things 591
Proposals for Peace—1 *by Lord Boyd Orr* 593

ARTICLES

Mural for Peace *by Vela Zanetti* 594
Homage to Orwell *by Herbert L. Matthews* 597
Tomorrow's Storms *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 600
Whose Wars? *by Robert S. Lynd* 601
How to Traduce Teachers *by Broadus Mitchell* 603

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Poems *by Abbie Huston Evans* 606
The Muted Thunderer *by Keith Hutchison* 607
Two Frames of Reference *by Hans Meyerhoff* 608
"The Greatest Little People . . ." *by W. Norman Brown* 609
Far Eastern Policy *by C. Martin Wilbur* 610
Trade and Tribulation *by Robert Lekachman* 610
Of Liberty and Equality *by Peter Gay* 611
Books in Brief 612
Drama by Margaret Marshall 613
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 613

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 615

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 496 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 616

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applied *only* against so-called subversives. Thus measures are adopted and practices are sanctioned in the name of national security which in total effect abrogate the Bill of Rights, and because this happens bit by bit, almost by stealth, the public is all too little aware of the direction and end result of the process.

Plain speech is needed if this business of amending the Bill of Rights by indirection is to be stopped. It was time that someone said what Justice Black said in the opinion from which we quoted above, that "test oaths are notorious tools of tyranny . . . which should be unspeakably odious to a free people." Test oaths and similar measures, he added, are aimed "at coercing and controlling the minds of men," not at safeguarding the nation against spies and traitors. "The real explanation," to quote again from the editorial of the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*, "of this threat to American traditions of freedom is in the ruthless exploitation of the Communist scare by politicians who know that fear is a potent force, especially in the jittery atmosphere created by discovery of mass-destruction weapons. . . . But subversion and espionage are not the concern of most of these political opportunists. They do not deal with overt acts of treason, which the law recognizes and punishes. They seek to make capital of what they regard as treasonable thoughts."

THOSE who believe that McCarthy's prime aim is to safeguard America against enemies, foreign and domestic, reveal a credulity as great as that of the Germans who thought Hitler was simply a misguided and emotional patriot. Our freedom is our security. Every restriction on free speech has a direct relevance to national security. To deny the rights guaranteed by the first ten amendments is, as President Truman has said, "worse than dangerous, it is absolutely fatal to liberty. The eternal threat to liberty should not drive us into suppressing liberty at home. Those who want the government to regulate matters of the mind and spirit are like men who are so afraid of being murdered that they commit suicide to avoid assassination." Again and again in his dedication speech the President warned that in enshrining our sacred documents we should not make of them "mummies in their glass cases" or "curiosities" or "glass idols." We confess to have been bothered by the same misgivings.

If General Eisenhower intends to check the inroads that have been made on civil liberties in the last four years he will lose no time in implementing Senator Lodge's suggestion that a commission of distinguished citizens, from all walks of life, be appointed to survey the problem of freedom and security. Let this commission, working with the Fund for the Republic just set up by the Ford Foundation, roll back the fog of fear which today obscures the vision of freedom in America.

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In the meantime let the President-elect use his great prestige, while it is still intact, to demand an abatement of the witch hunt. Let him heed the words of the *Post-Gazette:* "The ultimate aim of most of these Congressional inquisitions is to confuse and divide the American people. They are intended to strike heavily at the free exchange of ideas and information, to intimidate all critics of political, economic, and social orthodoxy, to take the guts and meaning out of the Bill of Rights." The General can assume that the Bill of Rights has now been adequately protected against the ravages of time and the possibility of physical destruction. His task is to see that the rights which it guarantees are respected by the government and freely exercised by the people.

The Shape of Things

Peace vs. Power Politics

The stultifying effect of power blocs, large and small, was dramatically demonstrated when the General Assembly failed to muster a two-thirds' majority for a resolution calling upon the Arab states and Israel to attempt to settle their differences by direct negotiations. The resolution violated the rights neither of the Arab states nor of Israel and rescinded no previous resolutions of the United Nations.

From the violent opposition organized by the Arab states it was clear that they knew negotiation was inevitable and must eventually produce a settlement. Why they fought the inevitable is also clear. Hatred of Israel has been a lightning rod used by the Arab governments to divert the rising anger of their people against misery and corruption.

Despite Arab opposition the resolution, introduced by a group of neutral powers, was adopted in the Ad Hoc Committee by a vote of thirty-two to thirteen. A last-minute maneuver, however, produced its defeat in the plenary session by a vote of twenty-four to twenty-one, with fifteen abstentions. The final vote saw the Arab-Asian bloc, except for Burma, spearheaded by the Soviet bloc, in solid opposition to twenty-four countries led by the United States, the United Kingdom, and France.

The only state which gained anything from the result is the Soviet Union. Every Arab news-agency dispatch from the U. N. gave Russia credit for the victory, thus raising its stock sky-high in the Arab world. The irony is that fifteen states, all opposed to the Soviet Union, should by their abstentions have given Moscow this prize, among them twelve which abstained in deference to the Vatican, the other three being Turkey, Greece, and Nationalist China. The Russians had taken no part in the debate, had abstained on the vote in the Ad Hoc Committee, and had voted against the amendment on the internationalization of Jerusalem in the plenary session. Their vote against the resolution as a whole, explained by them as opposition to the continuance of the Conciliation Commission, was carefully calculated to seize the sudden opportunity to win the Arab public without effort and without cost.

If the U. N. has not the courage to ask two groups of states to try to settle their differences around the conference table, how can it hope to settle the more fundamental issues behind the cold war?

Dilemmas in Oil

Iran continues to involve the State Department in a series of interlocking dilemmas. The department sympathizes with Britain's position since it, too, is concerned with defending the sanctity of international contracts; at the same time it fears that Whitehall, by sticking so firmly to its legal rights, will force Iran into the Soviet orbit. Thus its recent cautious announcement that independent American companies might buy Iranian oil, if they cared to shoulder the legal risks, was in part a sign to Premier Mossadegh that the United States was not towing the British line completely.

But this move must also be considered in relation to the current anti-trust case against the international oil cartel of which the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company is an integral part. What is the logic, Justice may very well have asked State, of discouraging independents from cutting into a monopoly which we are trying to prove illegal?

Yet the Anglo-Dutch-American group of giant international oil corporations is so powerfully entrenched that no solution of the Iranian problem may be possible without its cooperation. According to the New York *Herald Tribune* of December 22 a forthcoming offer to Iran will be based squarely on recognition of the cartel's total domination of world oil markets. Mossadegh is to be told, it is said, that Iran will never be able to sell more than a fraction of its oil unless it can use the transport and marketing facilities of the cartel which, in order to protect contracts in other Middle Eastern countries, will limit Iran's profits to fifty per cent of the gross. Further, Iran is to be warned that if a settlement is delayed much longer, the increased output of other fields will make Iranian production superfluous and unmarketable.

If this report proves correct, it would seem that the United States government has surrendered to the oil cartel, the continued prosecution of which will become a farce, and is asking Iran to follow its example.

"Cold War and Hot Emotions"

The Supreme Court in an eight-to-nothing decision has ruled that Oklahoma's loyalty oath is unconstitutional (see Oklahoma Loyalty Oath, *The Nation,* August 11, 1951). The decision indicates that the court has finally

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become concerned over the implications of its ill-considered decisions upholding the Los Angeles loyalty oath (the Garner case), New York's Feinberg law, and the Maryland statute requiring candidates for public office to take a test oath. The court seeks to distinguish the Oklahoma oath from the rest on the ground that the statute failed to make knowledge a factor in applying the doctrine of guilt by association. For instance, a teacher might join an organization without knowing that it had been listed as subversive or the organization might have ceased to be regarded as subversive or might not have been under subversive control during the time the teacher belonged to it.

The court has also come to recognize that the exclusion of a person from government employment on the ground of disloyalty is tantamount to a general blacklisting. "The stain is a deep one," says Justice Tom Clark, who wrote the opinion, ". . . a badge of infamy." Showing some sensitivity on the score that as Attorney General he drafted the loyalty order and prepared the first major list of "subversive" organizations, Justice Clark protests that the list was intended to have only "a limited evidentiary use" under the federal loyalty program. The protest is not impressive. Having carelessly lighted the fuse of a time-bomb, Justice Clark now says in effect that the explosion injured more persons than he had intended. The Oklahoma decision may point the way to an eventual reversal of the earlier decisions on loyalty oaths. Like the legislation and executive orders with which they deal, these decisions were clearly products of what Justice Clark now calls a time of "cold war and hot emotions."

Mr. Lie in Hot Water

The personnel policy of the United Nations is now certain to have a hearing at the resumed session of the General Assembly scheduled for February 24. Moreover, twenty of the twenty-nine persons discharged under the new policy adopted by Trygve Lie will have their cases reviewed by the U. N. Administrative Tribunal.

After notice had been served upon him by India, the Netherlands, and New Zealand that they would ask the steering committee to add the item to the agenda, Mr. Lie hurriedly made the request himself. Few issues have stirred the U. N. as profoundly as the personnel issue. In a preliminary hearing before the Fifth Committee delegation after delegation, large and small, made clear to Mr. Lie their common belief that he had exceeded his authority and had acted outside the Charter, and that the issue was one which could undermine the international organization itself.

The inclusion of the item on the February agenda is no assurance, however, that the recommendations of the panel of jurists, discussed in last week's issue, will be scrapped, or indeed that the Assembly will not be confronted with a *fait accompli*. Mr. Lie stoutly maintains that he alone has the authority to decide personnel questions and gives no assurance that he will desist from firing staff members under the recommendations now challenged. Moreover, it is clear that the pressures upon him to apply these recommendations will continue.

The State and Justice departments and the federal Civil Service Commission are collaborating, at the request of President Truman, on a plan to guarantee a "maximum of security" in the selection of United States citizens for employment at the United Nations. The plan itself has not been disclosed, but its very existence has no justification under the Charter. When completed it will no doubt be communicated to Mr. Lie and, if his present mood prevails, will probably be applied.

Pongam: Stupidity Plus Brutality

As usual the Russians in the U. N. made the worst of a good bargain. By holding the General Assembly in session all night for a last-minute debate on its charge of "mass-murder" against the United States, and by the violence of its attack, Russia managed to get a forty-five-to-five vote against its resolution of censure. Even the Arab-Asian countries, usually critical of American handling of the Korean war and especially sensitive to charges of brutality, voted with the West.

Whatever its propaganda effect in Communist areas of the world, the Russian move had the general result, we believe, of handing the United States a tactical advantage it does not deserve. For Gromyko's speech tended to blur rather than highlight the tragic incident on Pongam Island, where more than 200 interned Communist civilians were killed or wounded by guards acting under American orders. Whatever the official explanations, most normal people reject the idea that unarmed men must be mowed down by machine-gun fire in order to stop them from demonstrating and otherwise disobeying orders. Even if they were "fanatical," even if their eyes were "glazed," even if they were acting under orders and planning a mass escape, it is difficult to accept the military view that they could be subdued only by being killed. It is a fact that no milder methods were tried, apparently because the steep hills made the use of tear gas and other non-lethal weapons difficult. Nor has it been explained why the prisoners, known to be hardshell Communists, should have been kept in such large units or the camps established on such rough and unmanageable terrain.

One need not accept Mr. Gromyko's preposterous charge that the United States is engaged in the "systematic extermination" of Communist prisoners, to admit that this second major killing within a year is a poor way of demonstrating our tender concern over the fate of Communist prisoners of war who might be repatriated against their will.

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Austerity, Everywhere but in Washington

Pope Pius XII has approved style and dress modifications that will reduce the cost of a cardinal's wardrobe by about $1,000. The trains of the scarlet and violet cassocks which were formerly twenty feet in length may now be reduced by half, and the cardinal's violet robes may be made of wool instead of watered silk. The world situation being what it is, the Pope has enjoined "a sober tenor of life upon all and a measured and austere one particularly upon the clergy." At the same time from London comes word that Queen Elizabeth has given those peers who plan to attend but not to participate in the coronation ceremonies permission to dispense with costly robes of state. Peeresses may turn up wearing a tasseled velvet headpiece (price about $10) instead of the customary coronet (price $100 and up). All in all, the peeresses will save about $600, while hard-up peers will now be able to attend minus the conventional velvet robes trimmed with miniver and ermine. The keynote everywhere this year is austerity—everywhere, that is, except in Washington where the costliest inauguration in American history is being planned. To Europe we might now well say, in the spirit of the McCarran-Walters act, send us no more of your tired, your poor, your huddled masses; send us instead your robes of crimson velvet and violet watered silk, and any unused coronets you happen to have around.

Scholars and Statesmen Beware!

Both Owen Lattimore and John Carter Vincent are basically victims of the recently revived notion that scapegoats must be found whenever a nation changes its foreign policy. From Prague to Washington, last year's official policies can easily become this year's treasons. Lattimore was indicted, not because of discrepancies in his testimony, but because he had thought the "wrong" thoughts and come to conclusions of which the China Lobby did not approve. Scholarly research has now become an aspect of the science of policy. Let the research worker take care what facts he collects, what conclusions he draws.

Now that we are committed to the idea of prosecuting the architects of abandoned policies, logic demands that we hold the principals accountable too. Let General George C. Marshall, Dean Acheson, and Mr. Truman be brought to trial with Lattimore; let the Loyalty Review Board test their loyalty. They made the decisions; the policy was theirs. Lattimore and Vincent have been traduced by appointees of an Administration for which they are merely the stand-ins or substitute targets. Will the principals permit the proxies to stand trial for them or, while they still have the power, will they reverse these indefensible actions? Let them act now.

Proposals for Peace–1

[*Recently* The Nation *asked a number of men who influence the world's thinking what specific proposals, in their opinion, offered the best hope of bringing peace to the world. The following statement, first of the series, is by Lord John Boyd Orr, former director general of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization, who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1949. Other suggestions will be printed in subsequent issues.*]

THE people of all countries want peace above all else because they realize that a war with modern weapons would be the ultimate horror and that no country would escape. But the enormous powers which science has let loose cannot be bottled up again. At present they are being used for armament. If this continues, the piled-up bombs and shells will explode in another world war.

The best chance for peace lies in diverting the powers of science to constructive ends. The organization for this is at hand in the U. N. specialized agencies, such as the Food and Agricultural Organization, established to put an end to hunger, the World Health Organization, established to eliminate preventable disease, and the World Bank, established to finance the development of the wealth of the earth for the benefit of all.

The U. N. has failed to fulfil the high hopes which it inspired not so much because the politicians have not resolved the conflict between capitalism and communism as because governments have refused to cooperate in the concrete measures these agencies were designed to carry through. Such cooperation would lead to a lessening of the political tension and be a first stage in the functional evolution of some form of world government, without which, as Churchill has said, there is no hope for the future.

A world food plan is the easiest way to begin. Increasing the world's food supply would stimulate industrial development and world trade. The United States, Russia, and China, for example, export food; Great Britain and India import it from all three. An international authority based on the U. N. specialized agencies and given limited power and funds to apply modern science to increase the world's food supply would be a realistic approach to the problem of what to do with the forces of science. It would be a first step to a dynamic peace, the only kind of peace possible in this modern age.

It would be putting into practice for 365 days of the year the peace and good-will to men we talk about on Christmas Day.

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MURAL FOR PEACE

NOTHING in this mural is meant to be ingratiating or elegant, much less "decorative"; nothing appears as finished or perfect. It tries to present the anguish of man today, face to face with his future.

I wish to exalt the anonymous victims of the concentration camps—Americans, Europeans, Asians. And to exalt them with the same conviction and courage with which the artists of the past exalted the Christian martyrs. I condemn that brutal way of annihilating an idea or a race.

Man today cries for peace, that peace which, as Spinoza put it, "is not the absence of war but a state of mind."

Condemnation, exaltation, tense and anguished hope—these are the framework of the mural. Not ruins, nor weapons, nor death—those worn-out symbols. I paint man, only man, asking peace from men; asking pity with hand stretched out, wounded, blind, and ashamed.

The mural really presents the struggle against a world darkened by the shadows of hunger, of ignorance, of despotism—the three graces that attract war. Neither races nor colors of skin are in it; man is one, hope is one. I paint justice calling for respect for the rights of man—the rights he acquired simply by being born.

I realize that my mural will be ugly to many, that the figures which fill it accuse him who looks at it. This will not be so for that immense humanity, its wounds still unhealed, which was the protagonist of the last war. My mural has

children, women, and men, all fighters; never before has barbarism so greedily engulfed supposed non-combatants.

If contemplation of the mural by the hundreds of persons who daily may see it kindles pity and understanding in a single spectator, I shall feel myself a soldier of peace.

VELA ZANETTI

Last year Trygve Lie announced that the commission of art experts of the U. N. had approved the sketches of Vela Zanetti for a mural painting in the Secretariat Building.

Zanetti was born in León, Spain, in 1913. After studying under the famous Spanish teacher and critic, Bartolome Cossio, he went to Italy on a scholarship granted him by his native town, and on his return painted his first murals in León.

In 1939, after the defeat of the Republic, he emigrated to the Dominican Republic. During the next twelve years he painted more than fifty murals there—in the prison cell of Tirso de Molina, in University City, in churches, and elsewhere. In recognition of his work the government appointed him professor at the School of Fine Arts and, in 1949, director.

The Guggenheim Foundation then gave him a fellowship in art, and the jury asked him to paint a mural in the United States. Knowing his record, Wallace K. Harrison, directing architect of the United Nations, invited him to submit the sketches of the mural he is now painting. The reproductions on these pages are the first that have been offered to the public view.

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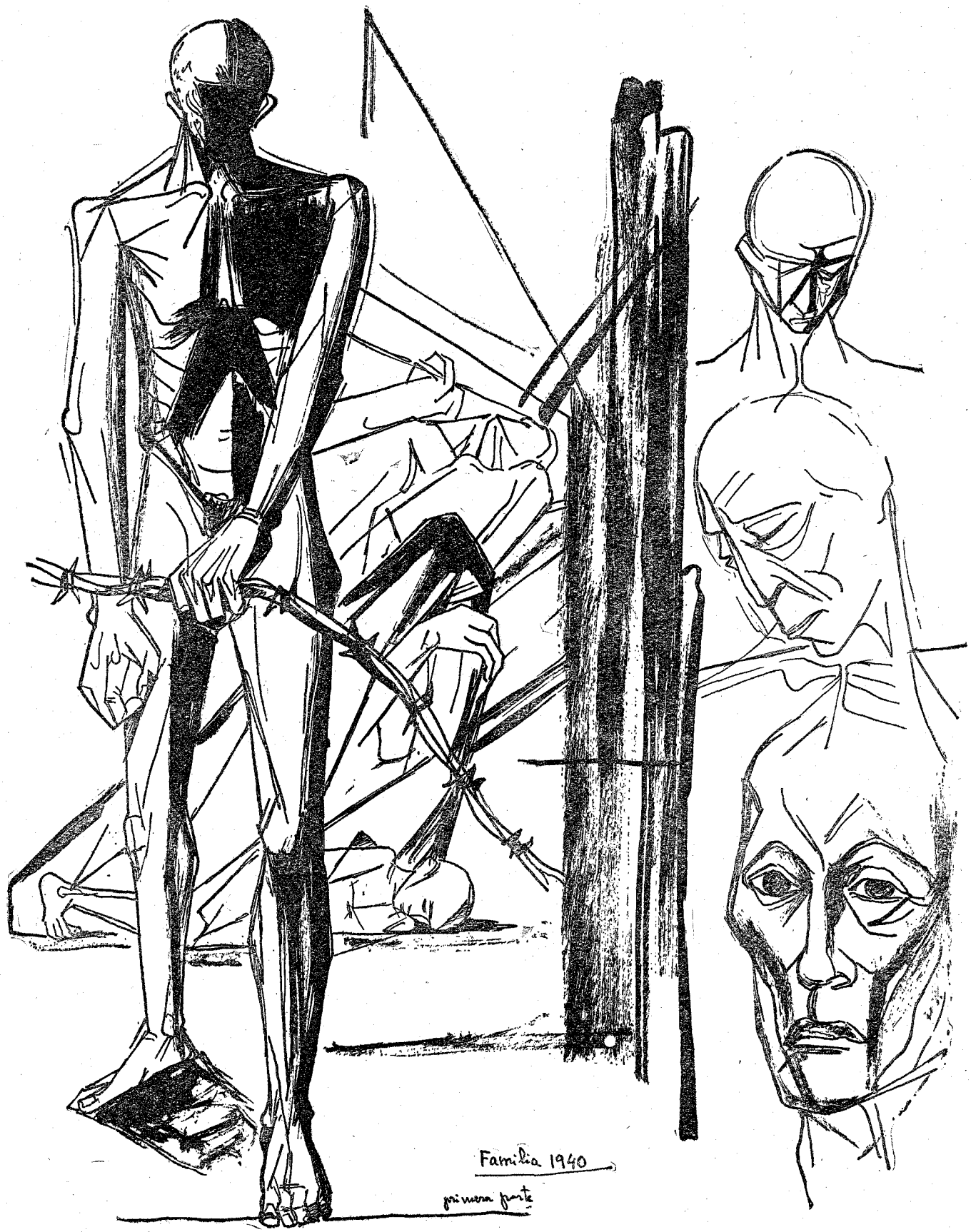

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Homage to Orwell

BY HERBERT L. MATTHEWS

THE resurrection of buried literary works is not without its dangers. Anything George Orwell wrote is worth reprinting, and we can all give two cheers for the American edition of "Homage to Catalonia," which was first published in England in 1938. The danger in this case is that Orwell was writing in a white heat about a confused, unimportant, and obscure incident in the Spanish Civil War. There are fewer people in the United States today who know about it than can work out Einstein's theory of relativity. Proof of this can be found in Lionel Trilling's introduction to the book.

Orwell has become a minor classic, and his experience in Catalonia was a turning point in his life. Without it, we would not have had "Animal Farm" and "1984." Moreover, the Spanish Civil War, whatever one's sympathies, holds a major place in our hectic century. It was the rehearsal for World War II, and because of the role played by Russia and the Communists, the Spanish Civil War has been twisted into a monstrous caricature of fascism versus communism.

Trilling's error—and other critics have fallen into it, too—was to take Orwell literally and uncritically; to assume that because Orwell was in one corner of Spain for a small part of the war he must have known everything about it, and that his story of the betrayal of the social revolution by the Communists must have been true. Orwell's book is being used today as a club to beat those who had other ideas about the war and those who did their best to describe it while it was taking place.

This is a pity, for "Homage to Catalonia" is an honest, vivid, personal account of one man's bitter experience in the Spanish Civil War. If people read it for its literary value, they will have a rewarding experience. If they read it as history, they will be either misled or confused. Orwell went to Spain thoroughly ignorant of politics; he came away still ignorant, but with one priceless piece of wisdom—that communism is a counter-revolutionary movement. Unfortunately for today's readers, he reached this valid conclusion from false premises.

Orwell was a volunteer with a Loyalist militia outfit from December, 1936, to May, 1937. He spent all his time either on the Aragon front or in Barcelona; so he was restricted to a small group of men in a small part of Spain during five months of a war that lasted thirty-two months. In the end he was severely wounded, pursued by the police, and barely succeeded in fleeing to France. At all times he was wonderfully brave, and as patient, decent, honest, and fair-minded as a human being could be.

What happened is that Orwell got caught up in the partisan politics of Loyalist Spain. "When I came to Spain," he wrote, "and for some time afterwards, I was not only uninterested in the political situation but unaware of it. I knew there was a war on, but I had no notion what kind of war. . . . I knew that I was serving in something called the P. O. U. M. (I had only joined the P. O. U. M. militia rather than any other because I happened to arrive in Barcelona with I. L. P. papers), but I did not realize that there were serious differences between the political parties."

The result was tragic for Orwell. He was a passionate rebel at heart who was convinced victory could be attained only by a working-class revolution against feudalism, reaction, and conservatism. In fact, it was a civil war with profound and explosive international ramifications; he wanted to fight it as an internal class struggle. From the beginning Orwell was doomed, and anyone who knew what was at stake and what problems were involved could have told him so the day he appeared in Barcelona.

The Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista (P. O. U. M.) was more complicated than Orwell realized. It was orginally a dissident Communist outfit, but it was also dissident, fractional purist-Socialist, mixed up with dissident Anarchists, with Trotskyists and dissident Trotskyists, with ex-Communists and an agglomeration of non-affiliates, men who sought revolution or adventure or merely a haven at a time when it was dangerous not to belong to some leftist or trade-union political movement. The other parties were all very choosy about members; the P. O. U. M. was not, which was why it attracted many foreigners—Germans, Belgians, and English—who were in Catalonia when the war began or who came in later. The P. O. U. M. was also, paradoxically, the most pedantically Marxist of all the Spanish revolutionary parties.

Orwell did not realize it, but the P. O. U. M. was already on the downhill path when he joined the militia, and the disintegration had gone very far by the time of the May, 1937, uprising in Barcelona. It had relatively few members, little trade-union influence, and no more than 7,000 or 8,000 men at the front. The real struggle in Catalonia was between the two great left movements

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—the Communist-dominated Partido Socialista Unificado de Catalunya (P. S. U. C.) and the Anarchist Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores (C. N. T.). The P. O. U. M. was caught in the struggle and smashed. A few weeks before Orwell arrived in Barcelona the P. O. U. M. had been ejected from the government (December 19, 1936). At that time its leaders baldly stated: "You cannot govern without the P. O. U. M. and you cannot govern against the P. O. U. M." Then they set out to try to prove it.

Orwell put the P. O. U. M. program into one sentence—and thereby inadvertently condemned it: "The war and the revolution are inseparable." The fact was that the war—that is victory in the war—and the revolution were incompatible. The Loyalists were losing the war because of the revolution. The great popular uprisings of the early months—the militias, the volunteers, the seizure and partition of big landholdings, the occupation of factories, the camaraderie, the heroism—all these things had saved the republic. However, by the time Orwell reached Barcelona the vital need was for unity, discipline, and efficiency. Franco was winning, partly because of German and Italian help, but also because the Rebels, as they were called then, had a unified command. The Loyalists were faced with the necessity of organizing a centralized administration and command or losing the war quickly.

Meanwhile, in September and October, 1936, Stalin began to send arms to Spain. This immediately put the Spanish Communist Party in the ascendancy. The Russians naturally channeled their aid through the Communists, who used their advantage to strengthen their own movement. To Orwell this was a tragedy, because they were Communists and because they were out for themselves. To Spain it happened to be an advantage, because the Communists were the best soldiers, the best administrators, and—this was a paramount consideration—because they were out to win the war first and worry about the revolution afterward, if at all. There was no use saying then, or now, that they were wrong because their motives were crooked and their final aims were evil. "The thing for which the Communists were working," Orwell wrote, "was not to postpone the Spanish revolution till a more suitable time but to make sure that it never happened." Which did not alter the fact that Communist tactics were probably right during the war.

Orwell felt the power of the Communists but never grasped the fact that the government was not run or controlled by Communists. He learned that after he wrote this book. If he had stayed in Spain long enough to see Stalin pulling up his stakes and slacking off on his aid, he would have noted the weakening of the Spanish Communist Party and the strengthening of the Republicans and Socialists. It was my opinion—and many observers shared it—that Spain never would have gone Communist if the Loyalists had won the war. There was sound basis for this belief, which is another reason why it is important to recognize the episodic character of Orwell's book.

THE blow was struck in the uprising of May 5-7, 1937, in Barcelona. Here, again, the complications were extraordinary. The Valencia government had to get control of Catalonia and bring the Anarchists into line. The P. O. U. M. was numerically small and ideologically insignificant and it was not Anarchist, but it was revolutionary and was believed by the government to contain traitorous elements working for Franco and even for Germany and Italy. The fighting began as a quarrel arising from a misunderstanding between the central authorities and the Anarchists. The powerful Communist P. S. U. C. immediately jumped to the government side, and the puny P. O. U. M. got itself involved on the Anarchist side. Within three days at least four hundred and perhaps twice that many people were killed, which made it one of the most sanguinary cases of street fighting in history. It ended when the government sent in detachments of soldiers to restore and maintain order.

Nobody—and this goes for George Orwell—ever knew in detail what happened or why it happened. Orwell spent the whole time on the roof of P. O. U. M. headquarters in the Hotel Falcón waiting to be attacked; he never fired a shot in earnest, nor was he shot at. He got his information on what happened later from his P. O. U. M. friends and—being as always painfully honest—from whatever other sources he could. But the book adds nothing to what was known. The account furnished by the government side was just as detailed and more authoritative and plausible. The suppression of the P. O. U. M. afterward was not a pure Communist plot, as Orwell supposed. It had the support of the U. G. T.—the major Socialist labor organization of Spain—as well as of the government authorities, who were not under Communist domination. In fact, the P. O. U. M. found no friends in its agony—which was significant.

There is no better explanation of the outcome than Orwell's own statement after it was over: "The Barcelona fighting had given the Valencia government the long-wanted excuse to assume fuller control of Catalonia." For the first time in five months Orwell saw the Spanish Republican flag!

Orwell had recognized from the beginning that, although he did not understand or like everything he saw, it was "a state of affairs worth fighting for." And he never regretted having fought for it, in spite of what happened to him. Spain worked its magic on Orwell, as it did on all of us. He caught the greatness of that time and he has imprisoned it in these pages. Yet the introducer and most of the critics missed it, missed the forest for some grubby trees that came at the end of the journey. Spain did not live up to the hopes, the

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desires, the ideals, the (alas!) illusions that all, Orwell included, harbored.

There is no denying that he, personally, had the greatest possible provocation. Horrible injustices were committed, and Orwell and a number of the people he knew suffered from them. That is why this book is one of the most damning to have been written and printed about the Loyalists. It is also a reason for its value as a historical document, and it therefore becomes especially necessary to balance it truly, place it where it belongs. Yet, at the very end, Orwell could write from outside:

> It sounds like lunacy, but the thing that both of us wanted [his wife was with him] was to be back in Spain. . . . Curiously enough, the whole experience has left me with not less but more belief in the decency of human beings. And I hope the account I have given is not too misleading. . . . In case I have not said this somewhere earlier in the book I will say it now: beware of my partisanship, my mistakes of fact and the distortion inevitably caused by my having seen only one corner of events. And beware of exactly the same things when you read any other book on this period of the Spanish war.

ONE must add a postscript to all this, for I have not seen any evidence that Professor Trilling or the critics knew that Orwell became acquainted with some of the Spanish Republican exiles in London in the early years of World War II. After finishing this article, I wrote to Dr. Juan Negrín, the last Premier of Republican Spain, asking him to tell me what he remembered about Orwell. I give here the pertinent extracts from Dr. Negrín's reply, which he is kindly letting me quote.

> As far as I recollect, I first met Orwell some time after August or September, 1940. He was presented to me as an editorialist of the *Observer,* and I was told that he had been in Spain during our war. I did not catch that he had been there, not as a reporter or writer, but as a volunteer in a fighting unit, and I believe I was not aware of that circumstance till I read his book on Catalonia, months after his death.
>
> After we got acquainted, we met several times, and I venture to say that a reciprocal current of esteem, sympathy, and even friendship was established. . . .
>
> Spain was often a matter of conversation, generally in connection with the daily developments of the World War, and occasionally recalling bygone episodes of our civil strife. I remember now that when this point was touched, he was very eager to inquire about the policy, internal and external, of the government I headed, the changes in the line of conduct of the war which I introduced, our problems and difficulties, the many mistakes I later realized to have committed, which I frankly confessed to him, though some of them were unavoidable and would have had to be repeated, once more, even after the previous experiences; our way of handling the motley conglomerate of incompatible parties, labor unions, and dissident groups and also the frequently self-appointed, largely unconstitutional, local and regional "governments" with which we had to deal; our foreign policy, especially our relations with Russia, having to take into account that the U. S. S. R. was the only great power supporting us internationally and prepared to provide us, on the basis of cash payment—we never asked it gratuitously of anyone—with the necessary weapons; the causes of our defeat. . . .
>
> I have the impression that Orwell was satisfied with my explanations, given to him without reserve, with all latitude, but strictly confidentially. Unfortunately, at the time his book was unknown to me; otherwise I would have been doing the questioning. . . .
>
> After reading his book, I did not change my opinion about Orwell—a decent and righteous gentleman, biased by a too rigid, puritanical frame, gifted with a candor bordering on naivete, highly critical but blindly credulous, morbidly individualistic (an Englishman!) but submitting lazily and without discernment to the atmosphere of the gregarious community in which he voluntarily and instinctively anchors himself, and so supremely honest and self-denying that he would not hesitate to change his mind once he perceived himself to be wrong. . . .
>
> He came to the chaotic front of Aragon under the tutelage of a group *possibly* infiltrated by German agents (reread what he says about Germans moving freely from one side to the other and what the Nazis officially stated after the war about their activities on our side) but *certainly* controlled by elements very allergic, not only to Stalinism (this was more often than not a pure pretext) but to anything that meant a united and supreme direction of the struggle under a common discipline.
>
> Putting all this together, one gets more than enough to justify the distorted image in Orwell's mind of the happenings of 1937 in Barcelona.

Remember?

On April 27, 1950, Herbert Hoover, speaking at the sixty-fourth convention of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association in New York, proposed that the United Nations "should be reorganized without the Communist nations in it." According to a report in the New York *Times* of April 28, the audience "interrupted frequently with applause, especially when he outlined his program for reconstituting the United Nations." The next day the *World-Telegram* and *Sun* ran an editorial headed "Mr. Hoover's Great Idea," the New York *Daily Mirror* hailed the suggestion with enthusiasm, and the New York *Daily News* thought the United Nations' "Manhattan palace" might be taken over and converted into "several hundred comfortable apartments" to relieve the housing shortage. From London, Trygve Lie said that if Mr. Hoover's suggestion were carried out, there "would no longer be one world organization."—*The Nation,* May 6, 1950.

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Tomorrow's Storms

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations, December 20

AS IN previous sessions of the General Assembly, the Political Committee has once more stolen the show. Attention was concentrated on Korea not only because the prestige of the United Nations was involved in finding a solution but also because everybody realized that as long as the Korean war goes on there is risk of a general conflagration in Asia. Then came Tunis and Morocco, which, while less momentous than Korea, kept the Political Committee in the headlines. The press has therefore paid little attention to the work of other committees, though important discussions have taken place in several of them. One of the most interesting debates of the session occurred in the Second Committee on the apparently arid issue of nationalization.

The essence of the resolution finally approved, against the wish of the United States delegation, was summed up in the following paragraph:

> The General Assembly, remembering that the right of peoples freely to use and exploit their natural resources is inherent in their sovereignty and is in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations; recommends all member states, in the exercise of their right freely to use and exploit their natural wealth and resources wherever deemed desirable by them for their own progress and economic development, to have due regard, consistently with their sovereignty, to the need for the maintenance of mutual confidence and economic cooperation among nations; recommends further all member states to refrain from acts, direct or indirect, designed to impede the exercise of sovereignty of any state over its natural resources.

The last phrase strikes directly at the big foreign firms which are fighting nationalization in countries possessing valuable resources and at the diplomacy which supports such firms.

What took the committee, and especially the United States, by surprise was the aggressive backing given the resolution by the Latin American republics—precisely the countries which Washington is most interested in preserving from permeation by subversive economic ideas. It was Uruguay, staunch friend of the United States and stablest of South American democracies, that took the lead. Angel María Cusano, the Uruguayan delegate, recalled that his country had always met its commitments to foreign capital and had no intention of changing, but he insisted that it would be perilous to ignore the importance of the trend now making headway in Latin America. He proceeded to describe in detail how his country had nationalized its public utilities and some of its basic industries, in particular the electric-power industry, transport, telegraph and telephone services, water supply, fuel and alcohol industries, and fisheries. Most of these had been previously operated by private firms heavily financed by British capital.

Uruguay immediately found itself strongly supported by Bolivia. Fulfilling its election promise—a not very common procedure in the Western Hemisphere—the new Bolivian government headed by Paz Estenssoro on October 31 of this year nationalized the three big tin-production companies—Patino, Hochschild, and Aramayo. Against this the companies, backed by United States corporations associated with them, protested with all their might, but to no avail. Bolivia's support of the nationalization resolution was strengthened by its own recent action.

Dr. Hernán Siles Zuazo, vice-president and head of the Bolivian delegation, said that when his country nationalized its greatest industry and chief export, the Bolivian people felt free for the first time in their history. He replied energetically to critics of his government, insisting that nationalization had been carried out in strict accordance with international and domestic law. Two universally accepted principles had been reaffirmed: first, that compensation for expropriation should not be granted on the basis of the original value of the concession; and, second, that expropriation, properly compensated, of properties and installations belonging to private enterprises was always legal if in the public interest.

Obviously not expecting such a firm stand by the Latin Americans, Mr. Isador Lubin, for the United States, criticized the resolution on the ground that it threatened the rights of private investors. But the support he received from the great powers, excluding Russia, could not stop the movement for economic independence of the lesser powers.

The vote in the Second Committee must have surprised the United States still more, for the resolution was adopted by thirty-one to one—the American delegate casting the single negative vote. All but two Latin American states voted for the resolution; the abstentions numbered nineteen. The outcome served notice on private investors that the states determined to establish their right to nationalize industries and resources far outnumber those which, like Bolivia, have already done so. Here we have one more evidence of the revolutionary process now going on throughout the world, which cannot be minimized or dismissed as the result of Communist agitation. Americans would be well advised to see it also as a warning of what is taking place in Latin America. First came the "storm over Asia," next the "storm over Africa." In Latin America the winds are turning to gales, sweeping over those who would build the future of private enterprise on the exploitation of the peoples in the underdeveloped countries.

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Whose Wars?

BY ROBERT S. LYND

MOST foreign wars have been fought for reasons above the heads of the citizens and soldiers of the countries involved. So long as they occurred one at a time, it was relatively easy to get domestic support for the needed steps—soldiers, taxes, and the dislocation of life—on the ground that, in an otherwise peaceful world, the enemy was arbitrarily stirring up trouble. So the colonial-empire system was built and maintained. After all, so ran the reasoning, native peoples only rot in their own backyard environments, and their children and grandchildren would reap the benefits of the economic development and civilized policing that accompany colonialism. It was "civilization's" war, and gain both for conquerors and conquered resulted. Thus bit by bit world order was being created.

Today industrialized societies are moving slowly toward what is hopefully called the welfare state, while the "backward areas" of the world are changing rapidly in their respective versions of progress. E. H. Carr, one of the most enlightened and perceptive writers of our time, rightly calls the second trend "the colonial revolution." In Chapter 5 of his trenchant little book on "The New Society" he discusses the causes and character of this colonial awakening:

> . . . we must start [he says] from an analysis of nineteenth-century society with its division of the world into advanced industrial and backward colonial peoples. This division of function, broadly corresponding with a division of color, was the basis of the world economy. . . . Nor was this division seriously challenged till the new century opened. Then something began to stir. . . .
>
> It was Japanese action in the Second World War which brought the colonial revolution in Asia to a head. The emancipation of Asia from the white race was loudly proclaimed; and after the victory it proved quite impossible to restore white supremacy, either military or economic, over the greater part of Asia. The movement has become a general revolt against political, economic, and racial inequality; color is at least as important a factor as communism. The colonial revolution . . . is on the march in Africa as well. . . .
>
> We shall be mistaken if we regard the Soviet Union as a prime mover in these developments. In the present configuration of world politics, the Soviet Union profits from the clash between Asia and the Western world and will do everything to intensify it. But Russia did not create the colonial revolution and cannot even now control its course. It might easily take lines unwelcome and embarrassing to Moscow if Western pressure were removed.
>
> The underlying essence of the colonial revolution is today economic rather than political. . . . Political independence and political equality are no longer enough. These achievements . . . are now seen to be hollow and unreal unless they are backed up by the reality of economic independence and economic equality.

In the face of such a momentous and humanly vital development, what are citizens of democracies to do when they are asked to approve and send their sons to die in twentieth-century colonial wars?

With General Eisenhower, a life-long military man of limited vision, in the White House and a new and more "positive" foreign policy in the making, it would appear that we had better stop viewing Western military ventures in Asia and Africa as isolated policing actions. They are part of the pattern of the twentieth century unrolling about—and over—our lives. The London *Economist,* referring to the French war in Indo-China, observed recently: "In human terms the losses have been appalling; before the start of the most recent campaigns well over 30,000 French soldiers and some 1,500 officers had died. This latter figure means that the graduating classes of France's military academy at St. Cyr are sent directly to Indo-China, and that few survive to grow into future staff officers and generals." In this country we have watched the casualty totals mount in Korea in a war that the recent election suggests the American people do not want.

There would seem to be at least the possibility that we are involved in a rapidly broadening counter-war against the long overdue world colonial revolution. And the plain fact is that we citizens are not being told what is being undertaken or in response to what pressures. I for one, a reasonably intelligent citizen, do not know why peace has not been achieved in Korea. Are we really to believe that the return of prisoners is the obstacle? Is there a bigger pot cooking, and, if so, who is stoking the fire? Why is Formosa so jubilant over General Eisenhower's election?

Silence is kept, of course, for "reasons of state," "top secret." But are we to accept and believe the news handouts that may be preparing us for a third world war—as Britons accepted the need seventy-five years ago for a policing action in a corner of Africa? As Mr. Carr points out, the dream that we Americans can treat this as "our century" and repeat the pattern of Britain's nineteenth-century colonial expansion is an empty one, be-

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cause the world has moved far beyond the conditions that made Britain's imperialism possible. And even if we could repeat that pattern, do we citizens want to do it?

WHOSE chestnuts are in the fire? The third generation of Rockefellers are engaged in developments in Latin America, the so-called "China Lobby" is doing business in Asia, and American capital is moving rapidly into Africa. Basil Davidson, a well-informed analyst of conditions in Central Africa, identified the financial interests operating in Central Africa and described the pressure for federation they are exerting in an article in the London *New Statesman and Nation* of August 9. He reported in this connection that some of the biggest mining companies were moving their home offices from London to the Rhodesias. One of these, Tanganyika Concessions, called "Tanks" for short in the business and financial world, is, he reported, "the biggest financial holding corporation in tropical Africa."

> "Tanks" have issued 3,831,412 ordinary shares. In April, 1950, the British government sold 1,677,961 of these shares, which it then owned, to an Anglo-Belgian group. And in November, 1950—the date of geographical transfer—it was announced that 600,000 of this block of shares which the British government had sold had again been sold to an American group headed by Ladenburg Thalman and Company and Lazard Frères, in association with the international Basic Economy Corporation and Mr. David Rockefeller—in short, to the Rockefeller interests in one form or another.
>
> But that, again, is not the whole story. For the British interests mainly concerned in "Tanks," acquiring their shares through the good offices of the British government, are mainly those which have hitherto dominated the economic development of Central Africa—the Oppenheimer gold and copper-mining interests, for example, and the British South Africa Company, which still retains all mineral rights in Northern Rhodesia and in 16,000 square miles of Nyasaland. These are the interests which have pressed, and are pressing, hardest for Central African federation, for those political guaranties of economic dominion without which it might be hard to insure the necessary flow of capital.
>
> Gradually and unobtrusively, the last few years have brought about a new and powerful alignment of monopolistic mining capital in East and Central Africa. The alignment comes together at the top in "Tanks"—so that half a dozen men . . . are not so far today from controlling the economic destiny of these territories. They have had, and are having, close support from the United States. . . .
>
> Now, it is no secret that the Americans have expressed themselves privately in favor of federation; nor is it difficult to see why. These loans [from E. C. A.], like British capital in the past, flow into precisely the same socio-economic structure of "white supremacy" and "cheap African labor" against which the Africans now struggle—and *for* which the supporters of federation are vehemently united. All that changes is the principal source of imperialistic capital: this becomes American. The Americans thus cash in on imperialist exploitation without incurring the public odium of doing so. . . .
>
> Anyone who cares to spend an hour or so with the "Stock Exchange Yearbook" can very soon convince himself that this close and intelligent tie-up in mining interests really does exist. He will find a careful system of interlocking directorates between such units as "Tanks," the British South Africa Company, and the Anglo-American Corporation. . . .
>
> What is new about this situation is not the fact or manner of exploitation but the skilfully engineered concentration of interests—British, American, Belgian, South African—in a region of great mineral wealth over a part of which the British electorate holds a protectorate and is pledged to advance the interests of the African inhabitants. There can be little doubt that what the federationists have in mind is rapid transition to Dominion status—when the paper safeguards in the present federation proposals would be worth even less than they are today, would, in fact, be worth nothing at all—and that the steady transfer of company headquarters to Southern Rhodesia is designed to give this potential Dominion a position of power and standing in the financial world. We are faced, indeed, with a well-prepared plan to saddle the whole of British Central Africa with a financial oligarchy designed to carry imperialist venture into a new phase. . . .
>
> If federation were to go through, these great financial interests would have a clear path before them. . . . For this is not to be the federation of free men, but of vested interest—Federation Ltd.

None of this would have sounded ominous to an Englishman in the nineteenth century. Should it sound ominous to Americans in the middle of the twentieth century, in view of the present state of the world? It does to me. If democracy means anything at all, this is setting back the clock disastrously. It is asking for trouble in a world in which colonial people need and have the right to develop their own potentials, and in which "trouble" means the renewal of colonial wars on a large and inhuman scale.

And what may a young American citizen now say when commanded by his government to serve as a soldier? Is it compatible with democratic responsibility for a citizen to accept "reasons of state" as docilely as did the Englishman of 1850? Many men subject to military service have been well indoctrinated and will believe and do what they are told. But what about the others, those educated to the point where they read Carr and Davidson and, in the main, agree with them? What does integrity in a democratic context prompt young men to do in the present international situation? Suppose, for instance, a young man called up for military service were to say, without cowardice and in all honesty: "This is 1952. You, my country to which I am deeply commit-

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ted, have brought me up to believe in democracy and have educated me to act responsibly. I cannot become a soldier in your wars until you convince me that more war in the present state of the world is intelligent and democratically responsible."

Does official Washington have an honest and adequate answer to such a question? Frankly, I do not know. But I do not like the look of the things that are happening, and the election results deepen my skepticism. When and how in this managed society of "top secrets" and public-relations hand-outs does a citizen brace his feet and ask "Why?"

How to Traduce Teachers

BY BROADUS MITCHELL

THE dismissal of a score of teachers suspected of Communist connections from the New York City schools and municipal colleges has conspicuous features of cruelty and stupidity. Those turned out lose both purse and good name. Those who eject them enjoy nods of approval now, to suffer in reputation some years hence.

The more widespread effect of this seizure of intolerance is less evident to the public gaze but is more serious. The process of persecution has gone on long enough to cause the substitution of caution for candor in the classroom. This is the testimony of informed observers; it appears in the silencing of leaders and groups that could be expected to protest; and it is illustrated in minor meaningful episodes. Many who see the vast machine of New York public education functioning seemingly as usual will scout this report as imaginary. But one who works at the trade can recognize the signs of palsy. The people who are footing the bill are cheated when forthright teachers become furtive.

All over the country self-appointed censors have inveighed against textbooks and educators declared to be subversive. When they are outsiders and volunteers their character is plain, and they have been discredited in responsible quarters. They pervert Pasadena and are condemned. New York, by contrast, has an inside job. Here it is official, seeks to appear even routine. Prime movers are in the Board of Education, the Board of Higher Education, and the Regents at Albany. Their allies are the usual ones, religious, reactionary, and patriotic, but screened this time by governmental sanction.

What is happening to accused teachers in New York City schools and colleges would be less depressing if it provoked more open controversy. As distinguished from a few years ago, when leading educational spokesmen and organized bodies remonstrated, now the woeful spectacle of sudden arraignment followed often by summary trial and swift dismissal proceeds with little remark. The Board of Education barber calls, "Next!" A new customer takes the chair and is promptly clipped.

One must sift accumulating files of reports, releases, policy statements, rulings, and decisions to be able to set down precisely the methods used to oust New York City teachers suspected of subversive beliefs or connections. The instruments are three:

1. *A regulation of the Board of Education.* This is the oldest device. In a policy declaration of a year ago a by-law is so construed as to subject the accused to new perils. The interpretation says that "where substantial reason exists to believe that a teacher is or has engaged" in an illegal act or conspiracy, "it is the duty of the Superintendent . . . to inquire as to such participation and the extent thereof. . . . Any failure or refusal on the part of the teacher to reveal the facts must be regarded as an act of insubordination and conduct unbecoming a teacher, subjecting such teacher to disciplinary proceedings provided by law." The policy declaration and the practice show that the stigmatized conduct is chiefly membership —certainly present and possibly past—in the Communist Party. Refusal to answer questions about such a connection is followed by suspension and reference to the board for final action.

What happens is that the superintendent, on information which he thinks sufficient, directs a teacher to appear before a person on the staff of the corporation counsel who has been assigned to work with the board. The teacher is asked whether he is or has ever been a member of the Communist Party, whether he has attended certain meetings, known particular persons, and more to the same effect. If he refuses to answer, he is suspended by the superintendent, and a trial examiner is appointed by the Board of Education. In the "trial" that follows, the city's case rests simply on proof that the accused refused to answer. The examiner hears witnesses called by the teacher's counsel—colleagues, supervisors, community leaders, students. Invariably the testimony has revealed an unblemished record, but this is declared irrelevant, and the result is always conviction and dismissal.

2. *Section 903 of the city charter.* This may be invoked in the wake of a Congressional investigating committee. The section was inserted in the charter in the early thirties as a result of the Seabury investigation of corruption

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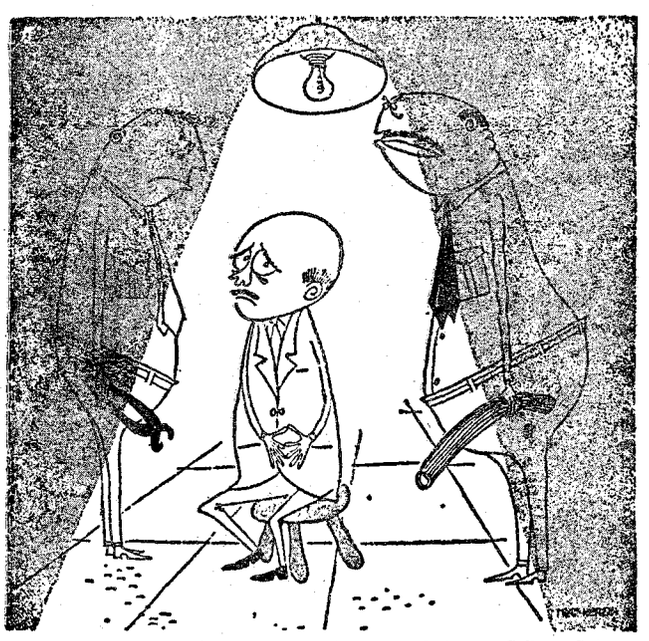
in the municipal government and was intended, historically and textually, to prevent officials and other employees of the city from escaping punishment by refusing to appear before a proper inquiring body or to reply to questions on the ground of self-incrimination. The questions must concern "the property, government, or affairs of the city . . . or . . . official conduct of any officer or employee. . . ." If one refuses to respond, "his term or tenure of office . . . shall terminate. . . ."

Under Section 903 the teacher who has refused to answer the McCarran subcommittee, citing, say, the Fifth Amendment, is summoned to identify the transcript of his hearing. A few days later he is informed that his post is vacated. Section 903 is held to be self-executing. It has been the contention of defendants that Section 903 does not apply. First, they are not officers or employees of the city but of the Board of Education, which is a creation of the state government. Second, questions about possible membership in the Communist Party are not concerned with "property, government, or affairs of the city." However, Corporation Counsel Denis M. Hurley has ruled that interrogation on membership in the Communist Party "constitutes an inquiry into the employee's official conduct, within the purview of . . . Section 903."

This section has been used against all six teachers who have been dismissed from the municipal colleges by the Board of Higher Education, which is distinct from but in this particular observes the same procedure as the Board of Education that has jurisdiction over the elementary and high schools. These teachers invoked the Fifth Amendment, among other constitutional privileges, when questioned by the Senate subcommittee.



Courtesy of Queens College *Crown*

"Have you ever taught or openly advocated freedom of thought in your classroom?"

3. *The Feinberg law.* This was enacted in 1949 by the New York legislature and directs the Board of Regents to institute certain procedures to enforce two existing sections of the education law proscribing seditious utterances and connections. The Feinberg law was held unconstitutional by two state courts but was later sustained by the United States Supreme Court. The Regents must, after notice and hearing, promulgate a list of subversive organizations. Membership in any one of these will constitute prima facie evidence of disqualification for a position in the school system unless it has been canceled within a ten-day grace period. School authorities must report annually on "the extent to which . . . provisions of the law have been enforced."

This law was opposed by both the teachers' unions because it sets up a spy system that will dissuade teachers from expressing themselves on controversial subjects and gives the Regents, other boards, and supervisory officers arbitrary power. Further, it proclaims guilt by association, a thing unknown to the tenure law.

For an extraordinary reason the Feinberg act, though framed as the chief means of eliminating supposed subversive teachers, at present is inoperative. The Board of Regents did not implement the statute during the pendency of the legal proceedings. It began hearings on December 4 to determine whether the Communist Party should be placed on its list of "subversive organizations," but the hearings were adjourned until January 1, 1953. On September 26, Lewis A. Wilson, state Commissioner of Education, had vacated a stay granted in March to a group of teachers who had been suspended or were being investigated. In lifting the stay the Commissioner said that the New York City Board of Education might make its own list of "organizations which advocate the overthrow of the government by force" and question "any teacher as to his or her membership in any organization which it suspects is in such category." Charles A. Brind, Jr., counsel to the state Education Department, in a speech to school superintendents on September 30 seemed to give this permission the widest application: any school board may promulgate its own subversive list, including merely suspicious organizations, and dismiss those who belong to them. He added, however, that the school board must prove the organization in question is subversive. The New York *Times* criticized Wilson's September 26 ruling in an editorial printed on October 3 headed "Confusion Worse Confounded."

As a matter of fact, the New York City Board of Education has made no list and probably will make none. It will leave this ticklish task to tardy action by the Regents, since the board applying such a list must be prepared to prove in court that the included organizations are subversive. Further, the Feinberg law prescribes procedures which are likely to prove lengthy, expensive, and problematical in the outcome, whereas the dismissal of

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suspected teachers under the regulation of the board regarding "insubordination" is sure and under Section 903 of the charter is also swift.

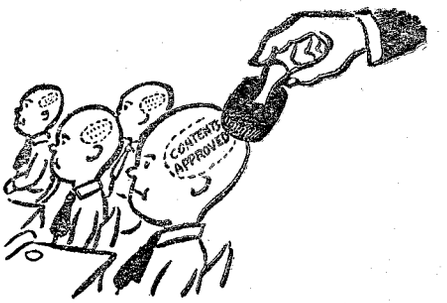
THUS far, in the current "drive" against supposed subversive teachers in the public schools, sixteen have been dismissed, twelve are under suspension. Ten resigned after being summoned for questioning; seven retired. Half a dozen convinced their superiors that they had broken with the Communist Party, but others are under investigation. Six faculty members have been dismissed by the Board of Higher Education from the municipal colleges.

The same issue is involved in the case of two members of the faculty of Rutgers University who will be dismissed unless they answer questions regarding alleged Communist affiliations put to them by the McCarran committee. One has been on the faculty for twenty-five years.

All the teachers dismissed from the public schools on charges connected with suspected subversive beliefs and associations are members, most of them active members, or officers of the Teachers' Union, Local 555, U. P. W. The parent body of this local was expelled from the C. I. O. Almost all the work and expense of defending and supporting financially the suspended and dismissed teachers have been borne by the union. Although it has been officially discountenanced by the Board of Education and joining it or continuing in it has met strong official discouragement, few members have dropped out and it succeeds in collecting emergency funds.

The zeal and resourcefulness of officers and members stand in contrast to the more passive position of the Teachers' Guild (A. F. of L.) on the issue of freedom in the schools. The Guild has remonstrated against the Feinberg law and against refusal of the Board of Education to recognize the rival Teachers' Union, but except for "suggesting" procedural protection it has left accused teachers to their fate. The decision has been made by small majorities in test votes in the delegate body; a shift of perhaps 5 per cent would have yielded a different result. Recently an opposition slate wanted, among other reforms, more affirmative action on academic freedom, but it made a poor showing in the balloting. The Guild appears not to object to dismissal for what is taken to be *proved* membership in the Communist Party. So far as teachers dropped for *supposed* subversion are concerned, the Guild has passed by on the other side.

The Academic Freedom Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union is preparing a public announcement of policy on pending dismissals. From past performance it may be expected to denounce attacks on teachers for mere membership, actual or alleged, in the Communist Party. Some doubt about the A. C. L. U.'s ultimate position has been aroused by a recent speech of Patrick Malin, its director. Mr. Malin said that membership in an organization might be made the starting-point "in a careful investigation of all factors relevant to judging a particular person's capacity for honest performance of a particular teaching task" (New York *Times*, December 7).



The enemies of these school and college teachers are not easily embarrassed by lack of logic in their indictments. But they are hard put to devise arguments when they cannot present any facts against the conduct of the accused as teachers and scholars during many years of service. Thus critics are driven to peripheral, hole-and-corner alarms, conjectural, vague, and inconsistent: a person who has joined the Communist Party has surrendered intellectual independence, has engaged to teach propaganda—though during his ten, twenty, thirty years in the classroom no such offense was detected in spite of an elaborate system of supervision.

If you point this out, you are met with a smile. The insinuations of the captive mind are cunning, so infinitely patient and subtle that at no point may the abuse be determined. But this proves too much. Any experienced teacher knows that the touch must be palpable indeed to be felt. Anyhow, if insidious "indoctrination" was known to be practiced, why has the small army of principals, assistant superintendents, associate superintendents, superintendents, deans, presidents, and board members not taken the field long since?

The Communist Party, it is said, is not a political persuasion; it is a spy ring. But, unhappily, it is legal. If a teacher, who should command respect for his integrity in all relations of life, declines to answer a question as to his beliefs and associations put by any public inquisitor, he is "irresponsible" and therefore unfit. No lack of professional responsibility has been shown; the accused has not purloined school property or poisoned the minds of his pupils. The question "Are you now and have you ever been, etc." may be improper, but all grounds of refusal to respond are equally fatal. If a committee of roving Senators does not crush the witness for contempt, a superintendent or president or board is at hand to dismiss him for what is held to be confession of guilt.

The fact is that the present frenzy is another chapter in the long history of intolerance. Defendants have varied in their attachment and teaching—Quakers, Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Masons, Socialists, Abolitionists, pacifists, evolutionists, and many more. The air is charged with fear, the crime is dissent, and the real victim is public morals.

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POEMS - - - BY ABBIE HUSTON EVANS

Return to Life

The southwest wind blows in from the sea unceasing,
The brown hawk falls in the field. Once more I live.
Like a hand pulled free from a glove I finger edges,
Ease and expand like a dry sponge drinking water.
Now like a too tight cord that can untwist
Its tortured length, and spinning round and round
Resign old tension back into the air,
I am escaped from the thumb and finger of life.
Shaken loose like a tassel at last, I hang, I swing;
A breath can whiff me round, this way or that.

While the robin calls with his colored note for rain
And the bright cattle watch me from the pasture,
The cranberry's cold little apples deep in the marsh
Feel good to my hand that goes groping, sun beats on my shoulder,
Heat flatters my cheeks, pouring up from the floor of the meadow.
Seeing the boxberry plums hid under the leaves,
And this year's arbutus plants, crisped, hugging the bank,
And the lady's-slipper leaves, paired, wedged in the mold,
I dally along at my ease, keeping step with the sun;
I make free with myself at last; I see that we are friends.

Clearing After Rain

After warm rain, now that the chill is rising
On the meadow down below, see what a scouring
Away of tarnish from the silver-azure
Inverted bell of heaven; and below us,
Time's reel run backward, in a flash behold
Earth smoking from creation, thousand-fissured.

Folds, points, tree-islands, lapped in shreds and tatters
Of vapor bearing south, oppose their dogged
And long-determined bulks to what is weightless.
See now direction regiment confusion:
Cloud remnants troop off marshaled; from the wood-lot
And the ridge behind it dragging vapors travel
In leaning crowds that press across the meadow,
Knowing where the river is, going to find it.

In the least twirl of a mist thread down the field,
The slant, the leaning, the most slow prostration,
Nothing is left to chance. I have been told it,
And now I see it. Thus does nature do.
The curls of children are her finger-work,
The continents her homework, and the stars
Her oldest work of all; what look like lapses
No hugger-mugger, but brief variants
Pulled back into the pattern, given time.
Slow order is her madness, under all
Working her ends out till the heavens fall.

Pebbles from Sister Island

Eight miles off shore,
Worn down to velvet by the thumb and finger
Of the sea incessant-shaping, tight-grained, polished,
Foreign to granite (these are granite's grinders),
Powdered with salt they lie up. The steep beach
Is strange with jasper and outlandish stone
Dim-colored, brown-flecked, olive, chiefly black,
Most like old pagan basalt from the depths
Bared when the the moon tore free.

The night Columbus talked with Isabella
These rocks were slatting on the coast of Maine.
When Rome fell, and Atlantis, they were here.
They rode the glacier down from Canada,
Maybe, in state; and dropped in the sack of the sea.
To-fro, to-fro, interminably washing,
Hurled and haled back with screeching from the shore,
To-fro, to-fro, they carved the great pink-granite
Platform of the island into hollows
Till it stands up from the glass floor of the sea
Like something out of Dali.

On the foot-rule of time scaled to the vast they are new,
But their newness is nothing to mine; I tremble before
Their hoary generation. None the less
Let me hold them in my hand a moment, sense
Duration, through delight of touch approve
The buffing of the lapidary sea,
Darkly partake of the being of first rock.

This World

Early and late the backdrop is for joy;
The makings of wonder hang up on the air.
Fine, fine, like something seen from under the hand
On a morning in autumn, early, waits this world.

The heart sings out to see it hanging there
Half-apparition, marks it for its own,
Accepts the marvel freely as a child
That bends above the fadeless rock with laughter.

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The forestage is the trouble; man made that,
And cannot blame another. (This I knew,
Returning to the changeless purpled mountain.)
Inept, impatient, like a fractious child

He tangles ropes and cords into a knot
That all but stops the play. Yet all the while
The makings of wonder hang up on the air,
Early and late the backdrop is for joy.

This Bridgehead Generation

We are too near. In the face of what we see
Silence is better than the sound of words.
Homer himself sang not till Trojan swords
Were long since rust in an old century.

Not till the tumult dies and under green
Lie all of us, and time has brought to birth
Poets whose frame-dust slumbers deep in earth
Can men make song of what our eyes have seen.

Euroclydon

The east-northeaster pounds the coast tonight,
Thudding and grinding at the knees of islands;
It sets the bell-buoys clanging and calls out
The gruff storm-warnings up and down the coast.
—So this, none else, was Paul's Euroclydon,
That old tempestuous wind that leaped from Crete
And heaped the seas up till they broke the ship,
But not the man. —Pull out the Book again:
"When the south wind blew softly—" (O sweet words!
The spring is in them. Hark!)—"we loosed from Crete."

I sit and listen while Euroclydon,
That old storm-wind that had a name of its own
Two thousand years before I yet had mine,
Pelts on my pane with blizzard snow like grit,
Shrieks down my chimney, grips my house foursquare,
And pants against my door.

Old tiger, hail!

The Muted Thunderer

THE HISTORY OF THE TIMES. Volume IV. *THE 150TH ANNIVERSARY AND BEYOND, 1912-1948*. The Macmillan Company. $14.

THE *TIMES*, published continuously at Printing House Square, London since 1785, is more than a newspaper: it is a national institution that has long played a role, sometimes a highly creditable one, sometimes the reverse, in the shaping of British policy and even in its implementation. Consequently the history of the *Times* provides the student of modern Britain, and indeed of the modern world, with an indispensable supplement to the history of *its* times.

With Volume IV—physically two volumes—this great work, begun in 1931, is brought temporarily to a close. Let us hope that when the paper's 200th anniversary comes around in 1985 there will be a new edition compensating for some of the deficiencies in the present one and bringing the record up to date. For while this final volume deals fully with the domestic affairs of Printing House Square and the international policies of the paper, only one chapter describes its reactions to the advance of the labor movement. Home affairs from 1920 to 1939, including such topics as the two first Labor governments, the general strike of 1926, and the great depression are barely mentioned.

One reason for these omissions is that the anonymous but extremely competent members of the *Times* staff who have compiled this volume built their story around the two contrasting personalities who dominated the paper during the period surveyed—Lord Northcliffe and Geoffrey Dawson, the latter editor from 1912 to 1920 and again from 1923 to 1941. This design while detracting from the reference value of the work does give it a very dramatic focus.

Despite its title page, Volume IV actually covers only twenty-seven years, from 1912 to the outbreak of World War II, apart from some brief notes about subsequent staff changes. The first ten of these years were marked by a fairly constant struggle for the soul of the *Times* between Lord Northcliffe, who had acquired control in 1908, and the senior editorial staff. Northcliffe's goal was the transformation of the paper into a personal, popular organ which he could play in harmony with the *Daily Mail* and his other shrill Fleet Street instruments. A great technician, he did succeed in brightening its make-up, discouraging its long-windedness, and adding to its readability. But Northcliffe failed to change the institutional attitudes of the *Times* or to shake its fundamental traditions.

Dawson, one of the remarkable group of young imperialists—Lord Lothian and John Buchan were others—who helped Lord Milner pacify South Africa after the Boer War, succeeded the historian, Buckle, as editor in 1912. He was an able man of limited sympathies, whose friendships were confined to a small upper-class circle and who was deplorably ignorant of the non-British world.

In the early days of the First World War, Dawson and Northcliffe cooperated successfully. They were united by their dislike of Asquith and together did much to engineer his displacement as Prime Minister by Lloyd George in 1916. This, perhaps, was Northcliffe's most triumphant hour. "It quickly became a commonplace of politics," write the authors of this history, "that Northcliffe regarded himself as the Napoleon of Fleet Street, and he, as quickly, accommodated himself to the comparison. . . . His most loyal friends could not fail to notice what some of his critics called megalomania."

When Lloyd George ungratefully refused to accept the guidance of Northcliffe, he, in turn, became the object of a press vendetta. In this Dawson refused to join: indeed, he took so paternal an interest in the welfare of the Lloyd George coalition that his owner warned him sharply to guard the *Times's* reputation for independence. After this relations cooled rapidly, until in early 1919 Dawson was badgered into resignation.

His successor was the foreign editor, the brilliant Henry Wickham Steed, who had a wider knowledge of Europe than

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almost any other living Englishman. On the whole he and Northcliffe saw eye to eye on such matters as the peace treaty and the Irish question, to the settlement of which the *Times* contributed notably by its constructive criticism of government policies. But Steed too suffered from the growing mental instability of his chief, which reached a dramatic climax in June, 1922, when Northcliffe was discovered in a Paris hotel waving a revolver at a shadow which he mistook for an intruder.

Northcliffe died two months later, and almost before he was buried a Homeric battle, described here with illuminating detail, began for control of the *Times*. His brother, Lord Rothermere, put in a fantastically high bid, but thanks to the financial backing of Major J. J. Astor, M. P., it was met by John Walter, representative of the paper's founding family, who held an option under the terms of Northcliffe's will.

Thus the *Times* returned to safe conservative hands, and its future was protected by the institution of a permanent committee of dignitaries—the Lord Chancellor, the Governor of the Bank of England, and so forth—with power to veto transfers of the controlling stock. Steed was dismissed and Dawson brought back to restore and preserve the tradition, with fuller powers than any editor had enjoyed previously. His immediate aim was to introduce in Printing House Square an era "of steadiness; in his own words, 'even of stodginess,'" and he succeeded admirably. The voice of the old "Thunderer" was seldom raised above a low rumble.

More and more Dawson gathered the threads of the *Times* into his own hands. Thus, after the death of Harold Williams, the foreign editor, in 1928, he directed the paper's international department himself with the aid of his assistant editor, Robert Barrington-Ward, whose chief foreign contacts were with German nationalists and who was afflicted with an exaggerated form of that guilt complex in regard to Germany that was common in Britain between the wars.

Faced by the challenge of Nazism, the *Times* aided and abetted the appeasement policies of the National Government, justifying them on the ground that they reflected "average British opinion." But while Dawson professed merely to follow public opinion, he was helping to confuse and etherize it. He ignored the private warnings of his able and alert European staff and toned down or suppressed their dispatches. As this book puts it with admirable candor, "the effect of Baldwin's and Chamberlain's policy, and of Dawson and B-W's [Barrington-Ward's] leaders was to lead the British people to believe in a Germany that never existed."

In 1852, when Napoleon III complained to the British government about adverse comments in the *Times*, Henry Reeve, the foreign editor, replied by stating his conception of the responsibilities of journalists. "To find out the true state of facts, to report them with fidelity, to apply to them strict and fixed principles of justice, humanity, and law, to inform as far as possible the very conscience of nations, and to call down the judgment of the world on what is false, or base, or tyrannical, appear to me to be the first duties of those who write."

Eighty-five years later, after some sharp attacks on the *Times* by the Nazi press, Dawson wrote his Berlin correspondent: "It would really interest me to know precisely what it is in the *Times* that has produced this antagonism in Germany. *I did my utmost, night after night, to keep out of the paper anything that might hurt their susceptibilities*" (my italics). How miserably this confession contrasts with the ideals voiced by Reeve! How muted was the Thunderer! How Barnes and Delane, those great if sometimes wrong-headed editors, must have squirmed in their graves as their successor destroyed the kernel of the tradition they had established, preserving only its husk!

KEITH HUTCHISON

Two Frames of Reference

RELIGION AND THE MODERN MIND. By W. T. Stace. J. B. Lippincott Company. $3.75.

WHEN historical criticism of the Bible began to go to work on the foundations of religious fundamentalism; when Comte built a new church on the rock of scientific positivism; when Darwinism seemed to eliminate God or cosmic purpose as unnecessary hypotheses for an explanation of the origin and evolution of life; when Marxism began to expose the social-political roots of religious beliefs and institutions in order to reject all religion as an opiate, a sentiment subsequently echoed by Freud's description of religion as a mass neurosis; when Nietzsche formally opened the history of the next two hundred years of "nihilism" with the declaration that "God is dead"; and when Dostoevski, tormented by the implications of religious and moral nihilism, finally retreated into the Grand Inquisitor's world of miracle, mystery, and authority—when the nineteenth century produced these and other reactions to traditional religious beliefs and practices, the stage was set for the conflict between "religion" and the "modern mind," to which the present work is addressed and on which we have already accumulated an enormous literature.

Professor Stace holds that in order to understand this formidable assault upon traditional religion, we must go back to the origins of the "modern mind" in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In this, I think, he is quite right. What came to a full flowering, as it were, of agnosticism, skepticism, positivism, naturalism, and atheism during the last hundred years had its seeds in the intellectual changes produced by the astonishing rise and expansion of the physical sciences during the "century of genius"—as Whitehead called the seventeenth century in "Science and the Modern World." The present work, like Whitehead's, is an essay in intellectual rather than social history. It is constructed around three major lines of thought, showing the impact of modern science upon the crucial ideas of medieval Christianity, analyzing the validity of the anti-religious inferences drawn from the scientific view of the world, and attempting a definition of the respective functions and merits of religion and science in the contemporary intellectual situation.

This is done very well. Though concentrating upon a few central ideas, Professor Stace deals with a vast segment of intellectual history, displaying a critical, versatile mind and an admirably lucid prose, devoid of the usual professional jargon, which makes his ideas perfectly clear and the book eminently

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readable. As far as I can see he is primarily interested in getting across two conclusions, the first being that the scientific repudiation of religious concepts is not justified. If science is believed to refute the ideas of God, cosmic purpose, and an objective morality, this conclusion, according to Mr. Stace, rests upon psychological rather than logical inferences. Secondly, he tries to reconcile religion and science by introducing a radical dualism between "two frames of reference"—a natural, temporal order of reality, "revealed to the intellect and science," and an eternal order, "revealed in the mystic experience of the saint." Since each forms a different kind of reality and is validated by different kinds of experiences, there need not and cannot be any conflict or contradiction.

These points are worked out in detail and often with subtle, enjoyable ingenuity; but it is only fair to add that the final outcome is not altogether novel. Religion in the cross-currents of the "modern mind" has been compelled to reaffirm its position in one of two ways: either by appealing to official mystery and miracle (as in the recent encyclicals of the Pope) or by withdrawing into the private mystery of mysticism. Neither position seems to advance the problem much beyond age-old controversy. Moreover, it is perhaps pertinent to suggest that the general theme of this work rests on a premise which is highly questionable. It is apparently still taken for granted by a great many people, including Mr. Stace, that religion must be "defended" against science. I have come to doubt seriously whether there is much point to this assumption. When the scientific assault upon religion gathered its full momentum during the nineteenth century, there were, roughly speaking, two opposing reactions. Some—the pessimists—feared that the implications of science would undermine and destroy all traditional beliefs and institutions. Others—the optimists or "pragmatists"—hoped that science would do so to build new and better ones. Neither the fears of the one side nor the hopes of the other have been borne out by the facts. If there has been a general trend worth analyzing, I submit it is perhaps not that which the present work shares with so many others, to wit, how the interpretations of science constitute a *menace* to religion and other non-scientific beliefs, but the very opposite one, to wit, how remarkably well the scientific methods and bodies of knowledge have been subordinated to or integrated into the traditional non-scientific beliefs and institutions—whether religious or political.

HANS MEYERHOFF

"The Greatest Little People . . ."

SECRET TIBET. By Fosco Maraini. Translated from the Italian by Eric Mosbacher. Illustrated with Seventy Photographs by the Author. Viking Press. $6.50.

THE title of this book is meant to be a paradox, and it is explained in a conversation between the author and Princess Pemá Chöki of Sikkim, who provides a faint odor of romance throughout the volume. She had just presented him with a number of Tibetan books.

"The whole of Tibet is in the books I'm giving you. We are so different from what people imagine us to be, you know. Often, when I read books written about us by foreigners, I think that they don't understand us at all. A country of saints and ascetics who care nothing for the world, indeed! Ah, you must read the life of Milarepa if you want to understand us. Greed, magic spells, passion, revenge, crimes, love, envy, torture. . . . Besides, what need would there be to preach the law to us so much if we were always good and full of virtue?"

"But that is just why Tibet is so fascinating," I replied. "Would the Tibetans be at all interesting if they were merely figures in a tapestry or in literary miniatures? The fascinating thing about Tibet is its delightful, disastrous, irrepressible humanity. Perhaps one day I shall write a book and call it 'Secret Tibet.' The secret will be, not the strange things that it will reveal, but the normal things in it—real people, flesh and blood, love, desire, repentance, pride, and cowardice. You know what I mean?"

"Yes, but you mustn't forget that religion and the gods have extreme importance in our country."

"Gods never impoverish a people but always enrich it. The invisible gives meaning and depth to the visible. Man only really lives when he lives in a cosmic drama."

"To sum it all up then, considering that there are so few of us, and that we have created so many beautiful things, might one also perhaps say that the Tibetans are the greatest little people in the world?"

The scenes of the book are the mountains, bare or forested or snow-covered; the hard stony plains; the dirty villages; the forbidding temples. The characters are lamas, medicine men, officials, villagers, but mostly lamas. More than once the author comments on the dirt with which human beings are encrusted and the diseases they suffer—his lamas are far different from the one memorialized by Ogden Nash, who had "no need for penicillin." The major subject matter of the book is religion and the art associated with it. There is a brief, clear account of the Mahayana Buddhist doctrine which Lamaism exemplifies, and numerous specific illustrations of Lamaism as practiced by lamas and served by the laity. Its macabre and erotic symbolism, which strikes any visitor as its most conspicuous feature, is described as it appears in ceremony, sculpture, and painting.

The book, however, is not a treatise on religion, art, sociology. It is primarily the record of an artistic temperament

FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM

By GEORGE H. SHOAF

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stimulated by overwhelming scenery and a self-confident culture. In this sense it is a travel book, but not one that chronicles the stages of the journey, the physical difficulties encountered, the health precautions required. It is an account of Tibet and its people on the subtlest human level.

Presumably the original Italian language of the book is of high poetic quality, but it cannot have suffered much, if any, in Eric Mosbacher's translation, which is rich in vocabulary, sensitive, and lively. The author's seventy illustrations, of scenery, habitations, people, religious edifices, works of art, are of the highest technical competence and superbly enrich the text.

W. NORMAN BROWN

Far Eastern Policy

THE AMERICAN RECORD IN THE FAR EAST, 1945-1951. By Kenneth Scott Latourette. The Macmillan Company. Issued under the Auspices of the American Institute of Pacific Relations. $3.

THE KOREA STORY. By John C. Caldwell in Collaboration with Lesley Frost. Henry Regnery Company. $3.

BOTH these books deal with American post-war policy in the Far East, but they are poles apart. Professor Latourette has attempted a judicious appraisal of our record in the area stretching from Pakistan to Japan. John Caldwell, who worked in the information programs of Army and State Department, gives a spicy, opinionated account of his own experiences in Korea. Latourette is the historian asking what happened and why; Caldwell is the reporter telling what he saw on his beat.

Did we have a wise and consistent policy in the Far East after the war? What were the crucial decisions, and were there alternative lines of action which might have prevented the disaster in China and the war in Korea? Could we have stemmed communism without strengthening colonialism in Indo-China? Questions such as these will perplex Americans and employ historians for many years. Professor Latourette is one of America's most respected historians, dean among those specializing on Eastern Asia. In 200 pages he examines the public record and gives a tentative appraisal. His book is a scrupulously honest attempt to determine whether we blundered, with what consequences, and why.

The record, he concludes, is very uneven in spite of general adherence to a set of worthy principles. This unevenness was due to the fact that American action was only one ingredient in a highly complex and constantly changing series of situations which differed fundamentally from country to country. Given our continuing involvements in the Far East, the problems and aspirations of the nations concerned, and the unfolding conflict between Soviet Russia and the United States, Professor Latourette believes the record was fairly good in India and Southern Asia, doubtful in the Philippines, poor in China, excellent in Japan, and fumbling in Korea. But he repeatedly cautions that judgment can only be tentative. Japan looks good but could turn out badly; China looks bad, but our serious defeat there may have been unavoidable. This sort of cautious appraisal certainly will not satisfy the critics, and it does not make exciting reading.

The chapters on China and Korea are naturally the most controversial. It must have been very difficult for Professor Latourette, with his strongly Christian, anti-Communist view, to maintain detachment when dealing with what he clearly regards as tragedy for these two countries. He finds that American policy in China had serious errors—the Stilwell appointment, Yalta, Marshall's attempt to bring the Communists into the Chinese government. American military and economic aid produced meager results. Yet in examining various alternatives, from withdrawal to all-out intervention, he believes that the policy of generous assistance, advice, and limited commitment was the only feasible one. The Wedemeyer recommendations were clearly impracticable. It is apparently his conclusion that the Nationalist defeat was foredoomed as early as 1945. And even though in China "the United States experienced the greatest defeat in its history," Latourette finds consolation in the cultural influences he feels sure will outlast Communist ideological reforms and hate campaigns.

The Korea story is treated briefly and soberly. Latourette finds the principal reasons for American difficulty to lie in lack of foresight and in Soviet competition. In his much fuller treatment Caldwell gives a vivid account of the American occupation, the U. N.-sponsored Korean elections of 1948 and 1950, the operations of E. C. A. and the United States Information Service, the noble work of American missionaries, and the frantic American evacuation when the North Korean army struck in June of 1950.

Caldwell is an idealistic young man who threw himself into the cause of independence and democracy in Korea, who came to love the Korean people, and who developed a strong abhorrence of the North Korean regime. He has an interesting story. In my opinion the book is marred, however, by its intemperate, spiteful denunciation of the State Department and particularly the Foreign Service. There is doubtless much justice in his criticism of ineptitude, waste, and strangling red tape. His description of the gigantic and generally futile American embassy in Seoul is shocking. But the offhand implication of treason as the underlying cause of American failure in Korea and China is smear. It tends, furthermore, to obscure the valid criticisms of our operations overseas which Caldwell so ably presents.

C. MARTIN WILBUR

Trade and Tribulation

INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. By Jacob Viner. The Free Press. $2.75.

JACOB VINER, a leading international-trade theorist, has cast a cold eye on the theory and practice of commerce among nations. In a manner distinguished by painful clarity and frequent acerbity he diagnoses the ailments of world trade as stemming from overambitious efforts of nations to plan their own economic existence, impediments placed in the way of private capital movements from richer to poorer countries, and, finally, relentless population pressures. And he suggests no easy remedies.

In fact, what he offers is a catalogue of fallacies often enjoyed by economists and laymen in common. It is a mistake to believe that the theories of John Maynard Keynes can cure dollar shortages in Europe and elsewhere. It is another to assume that national economic planning solves more old problems than it

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creates new ones. In an especially grim lecture Mr. Viner demonstrates relentlessly how the most moderate of planners is forced into ever wider measures of control, as the goals of his plan are evaded and thwarted by the activities of the uncontrolled. These same pressures logically entail supervision of foreign trade and reinforce the trend toward autarchy. Here as elsewhere no short review can do justice to the subtlety and force of Mr. Viner's reasoning.

Mr. Viner finds much in the classical tradition of trade theory which is still useful. The gold standard did impart a stability to trade among nations which no device since tried has matched. Analysis in terms of regional specialization and division of labor makes much better sense than the frantic efforts of the least likely of nations to industrialize at all costs. Industry is not always more advantageous than agriculture. Are not Switzerland, Denmark, and Australia richer than Italy? Shifts of capital and other resources to countries which can profitably use them still make excellent logic. Goods continue to move in response to price changes, just as Ricardo and Mill always maintained.

In contrast to many of his fellows, however, Mr. Viner has a sense of the practical. Delightful as classical theory may be, the world to which it applied fully is a sad memory.

> The gold standard is gone, probably beyond recall. . . . Whatever may be the true price-elasticities of demand, domestic price-rigidities, as the result of monopoly, of collective bargaining, and of official ceilings and supports, leave them limited opportunities . . . within national economies, and high tariffs, import quotas, and exchange licences . . . limit their operation in the foreign-trade field.

Where are we, then? If we accept Mr. Viner's demonstration, modern planning and Keynesian policies will solve neither the problem of dollar deficit in Europe nor economic development in much of the remainder of the world. For reasons good or bad, free international trade cannot be restored. Nor is a code of trading manners feasible between free and controlled areas. Perhaps only the fool is happy in such a universe. Mr. Viner, no fool, can see nothing ahead but "piecemeal adjustments where the pressures are greatest" and "avowed or disguised improvisation."

ROBERT LEKACHMAN

Of Liberty and Equality

DEMOCRACY AT BAY. By Felix Somary. Translated by Norbert Guterman. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

WHY DEMOCRACY? By Alf Ross. Translated by David Gatley-Philip. Harvard University Press. $4.50.

DEMOCRACY is not only the most difficult form of government; it is also the hardest to write about intelligently. Two impeccably translated European importations forcefully demonstrate the truth of this saying.

Dr. Felix Somary, a European banker and economist, purports to offer a concise diagnosis of democracy by employing a single method—generalizations based on epigrams which are either commonplaces or of questionable validity. (Here are but two of the "twenty inversive propositions" which "determine modern politics, wars, and public finance": "The more rights a man has, the less he is aware of them"; and "The greater the advance of civilization, the less does freedom prevail.") Since he neither understands nor cares for democracy, the results are pretty depressing.

To be sure, the author expresses some praiseworthy sentiments: he hates war and paints a grim picture of its devastations; he opposes tyranny and champions freedom. But his definition of freedom and of democracy must sound strange to non-members of the Liberty League. He professes that direct taxes, social legislation, permanent bureaucracies, the closed shop, all contradict the very essence of democracy. He cites with relish De Tocqueville's dictum that freedom and equality are incompatible and defends John Locke's stress on property rights. The essence of freedom, he writes, lies not in the right of the individual to choose his church or school, but in professional privileges of guilds against the state; the ideals of nationalism and of racial equality have invariably led to tyranny. To put it plainly: Dr. Somary parlays a half-truth—that revolutionary mass-movements give rise to despotic élites such as the Jacobins—into a reactionary philosophy of politics.

His detailed opinions amply confirm this judgment: he attacks Keynesians as currency "fanatics"; he advocates deflation ("From the economic point of view a period of exhausting wars should be followed by the severest restrictions on expenditures for a generation"); he has only contempt for trade unionists ("The worker taking over his heritage is interested only in his right to belong to a union. His organization thinks, speaks, and acts for him. In so far as he plays a role personally, his political outlook consists of violent opposition to foreigners, to other nations or races, and opinions other than his own"); and he extols, in thoroughly unhistorical fashion, his hero, the bourgeoisie ("The middle class has always represented only a minority of the population, but all civilization springs from it").

This remarkable point of view is buttressed by some astonishing distortions and oversimplifications of history, and we are forced to conclude—to borrow Dr. Somary's favorite device—that the more pretentious a book the less value it is likely to have.

Alf Ross's "Why Democracy?" is a far less spectacular but far sounder effort. Professor Ross, who teaches Public Law at the University of Copenhagen, opens his book with a useful historical retrospect, tracing the roots of democratic thought back to contract theories,

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to the right of resistance, and to the democratic seventeenth-century pamphlets of the English Levelers. He continues with an analysis of the two basic approaches to democratic theory—Rousseau's dogmatic reliance on the *volonté générale* and Bentham's pragmatic proof of the utility of democracy. Professor Ross then considers in illuminating detail the liberties and obligations of the citizens in a democracy without slighting democracy's opponents and critics.

He concludes, soundly enough, that liberty and equality, far from being incompatible, are essential to each other in modern mass-society, and he argues that "the moderate social-democratic criticism of democracy under a capitalist economy is justified." However, the chapter on the social conditions of democracy, helpful as it is, does little more than to indicate the range of social and economic problems with which modern democratic thought must grapple.

In my judgment "Why Democracy?" should prove extremely serviceable to that reader who wants a sensibly argued and reliably grounded introduction to all aspects of democratic theory and practice. Still, this book in no way supersedes A. D. Lindsay's famous "The Modern Democratic State," which it resembles in many respects. To the social scientist or political philosopher "Why Democracy?" offers nothing that is new. The book that integrates the passion for freedom of nineteenth-century liberalism with the tragic twentieth-century realities of power and of man's nature has yet to be written.

PETER GAY

Books in Brief

PIONEER'S PROGRESS. By Alvin Johnson. Viking. $5. The autobiography of a great educator and rugged personality—a reservoir of vitality and optimism whose energy overflowed into many fields. Born in 1874 of Danish American parents on a remote Nebraskan farm, the author attended the University of Nebraska, enlisted as a private in the Spanish-American War, studied at the Columbia School of Political Science, taught at Bryn Mawr, Columbia, Nebraska, Texas, Chicago, Stanford, and Cornell, helped edit the *New Republic,* collaborated in founding the New School for Social Research and served as its director until his retirement in 1945; meanwhile serving on various state and federal commissions, editing encyclopedias, writing a novel, inaugurating the University in Exile, which enriched American education by rescuing many distinguished scholars from the Nazis and bringing them to this country. Finally he found time to write what, with characteristic modesty, he calls "this exceedingly long autobiography of a common man." "Education," he says, "has been to me from childhood a consuming passion. I wanted to know as much as I could about as many things as possible, but above all about the life of man." This passionate curiosity, so evident on every page, gives richness and zest to a remarkable record of accomplishment.

THE SCANDALMONGER. By T. H. White. Putnam's. $3.75. T. H. White is a contemporary Englishman who has written novels, a curiously savage nature book called "The Goshawk," and at least one previous study of the eighteenth century. Some sort of never quite explained bitterness runs through most of his work, and the present book might well be subtitled "Some unflattering side-lights on an overpraised age; with incidental observations to the general effect that our own is not as much better as we think." Some of Mr. White's anecdotes are familiar, but a good many are not, and they range from the brutal to the scabrous as they concern themselves with such subjects as rakes, duelists, crooked politicians, and madmen. They make lively if somewhat horrendous reading and may be recommended especially to those who think that the "charm" of the eighteenth century has been a bit overdone.

STRANGE ALTARS. By Marcus Bach. Bobbs-Merrill. $3. The author, who has written several books on minor religions, spent some time in Haiti attempting to understand the nature and witness the rites of Voodooism. He found it to be in essence an African ritual magic driven underground by the church and specializing, like other primitive religions, in demoniac possession, second sight, and prophecy under the hypnotic influence of repetitious music and dancing. A book of impressions rather than of analysis, but with some interesting detailed descriptions of Voodoo worship.

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THIS WAS PUBLISHING. By Donald Sheehan. Indiana. $3.75. An admirable study of the problems and practices of book publishing from the Civil War to the First World War. Then as now pessimism was an occupational disease in an industry so bedeviled by difficulties that its continued health seems nothing short of miraculous. Paper books, cut prices, lack of outlets, high costs and low profits—decade after decade the same perils threaten. Even television had its percursor in the bicycle craze, which in 1896 was said by the *Publishers' Weekly* to be "demoralizing the equilibrium of the trade."

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

EVERY clown fancies himself as Hamlet; and actresses of straight parts apparently fancy themselves as B. Lillie. Once in a blue moon the illusion becomes reality—I am thinking of the success with which Jean-Louis (Baptiste) Barrault impersonates the Prince of Denmark; but the exceptions occur only often enough to prove the rule, and B. Davis as the singing comedienne in "Two's Company" (Alvin Theater) is no exception. The clown is not in her. The volatility, the variety, the infectious and compelling gaiety of face, figure, voice, movement—these are missing. So is that charm which transcends—I'm thinking again of B. Lillie—the most grotesque and unbecoming dress and posture. Miss Davis's best numbers are those in which none of these qualities are called for. She does a good, and a sporting, imitation of Tallulah Bankhead attending a show in which Bette Davis is starred, and she is funny as the overworked slattern housewife whose husband is madly jealous. Her performances in other numbers range from passable to very bad. So do the numbers, and Miss Davis's attempt to carry on the tradition of Helen Morgan and even Mary Martin in a song about her man descends, thanks to the lyrics of none other than Ogden Nash, to a vulgarity of which I've seldom heard the like. Vulgarity, indeed, has several innings in a show that has everything in it, including the kitchen stove in the skit called "Jealousy."

Many of the sketches in "Two's Company" start off with a good idea, but few of them fulfil their promise. The writing, as the saying goes, is very uneven. So are the performances. Hiram Sherman is consistently funny, David Burns intermittently so. Similarly there are some good lines here and there. Everyone is quoting the remark that the rich are getting very pushy since Eisenhower's election. I liked even better a comment on economics—and economists—that cropped up in one of the worst of the sketches. A visiting Britisher, explaining his country's difficulties, envisages a truly critical situation in which "exports and imports exceed each other."

The music is mediocre. As for the dancing, it brings me right back to the observation I began with, the tendency of clowns to turn Hamlets. At some point or other Jerome Robbins, choreographer of the delightful "Fancy Free" and "On the Town," discovered that the female of the species is more deadly than the male, and apparently he has been brooding on that eternal half-truth ever since. The old Jerome Robbins is apparent in the number called "Baby Couldn't Dance," and since it is the first dance number one has high hopes that Robbins is himself again, even though the first part of this number is by far the best. The next number, "Roundabout," is "serious," sentimental, and dull, but the fact that it is the girl who is left out at least indicates that Mr. Robbins may have given over his new "philosophy." In the third number, "Esther," the choreography is brilliant and fast and Maria Karnilova dances it beautifully; but Esther, again, is the deadly female, as savage and cynical as they come. And in "Haunted Hot Spot," Nora Kaye, fresh from "The Cage," is the sultry villain of the piece. Some of the choreography is good, particularly the routine of the piano-player, and this time, at least, the lady gets shot for her cruelty, but as a whole the ballet is maudlin and tiresome. Still, I found in it a ray of hope. Perhaps by the device of killing the female Mr. Robbins can exorcise his currents "hants" and get back to the light-hearted yet pointed commentary of "Fancy Free," which, whether he knows it or not, was far more serious as art and as commentary, too, than "The Cage" or "Haunted Hot Spot."

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THE second group of Columbia recordings of the 1951 Perpignan Festival again offers performances of works by Mozart—this time three of the great piano concertos, K.271, 482, and 595 (each on one record), and two engaging minor works, the Piano Concerto K.449 and Flute Concerto K.313 (both on one record). And again it is exciting to hear the orchestral parts with the heightened life and effect they have with Casals's powerful inflection of melodic phrase and accompaniment figuration. But such treatment of the orchestral part calls for similar powerful inflection of the piano part, like Schnabel's in the old Victor set of K.595; and instead one gets, with the piano's first entrance after the long orchestral introduction, the shock of Horszowski's delicate playing, and additional shocks

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with the piano's replies to the orchestra in their interplay throughout the first movement. In addition, with the piano merely murmuring its figuration the development section in this movement doesn't build up the momentum that Schnabel's treatment of that figuration makes so exciting. The same contrast is heard in the slow movement, in particular in the middle section—this time between the power in the orchestra's accompanying figures and the delicacy of the piano's sustained cantilena above them. All of which leaves one entirely unprepared for the energy and effectiveness of Horszowski's playing in the lilting finale; and in the end one has to wonder why he doesn't play with the same energy in the earlier movements.

Horszowski's playing has an inner cohesiveness and outer clarity even when it is delicate; Serkin's, in the first movement of K. 482, has a nerveless feebleness and lack of clear outline that shocks one even more in contrast with the orchestra; but it improves in the slow movement and is sufficiently energetic in the finale.

Approaching the performance of K.271 with memories of the sentimentality and pretentiousness of Myra Hess's matured playing, one is agreeably surprised to hear only the musicality that charmed one when she first played here thirty years ago. It makes her performances in the first and second movements highly satisfying, even if not quite what Gieseking's are in the old Columbia version; but in the finale she hasn't the dazzling speed in the Presto sections, the cohesive tension of phrase outline and rhythm in the Menuetto episode, that raise the Gieseking performance to sheer incandescence.

Another agreeable surprise is Istomin's playing in K.449—with a new incisiveness, in addition to its youthful freshness and buoyancy, that gives humorous effect to the finale. And very beautiful is Wummer's performance in K.313.

But what is breath-taking—with the unique tone whose tensile strength lends itself to the equally unique sustained and impassioned phrasing—is Casals's own performance with the orchestra of an arrangement of the Aria from Bach's Organ Pastorale in F, on the bonus record that comes with the complete set.

Mozart's Serenade K.361 for 13 winds is on a Capitol record, played by the Los Angeles Woodwinds under William Steinberg's direction. Parts of the work —chiefly the slow introduction to the first movement, the Adagio, and the Theme and Variations—are very fine; and throughout there is Mozart's marvelous writing for the instruments individually and in combination. The performance offers a realization of this writing in the beautiful playing and phrasing by the individual musicians, and the carefully adjusted combination of the individual strands in beautiful textures.

The Harty Suite from Handel's Water Music is played on an RCA Victor record by Münch with the Boston Symphony; and one of Columbia's new lower-priced Entré series offers a dubbing of the old Harty performance with the London Philharmonic. The superb Harty performance is reproduced astonishingly well; the Münch performance is less good—with the Air played too fast and the Bourrée a little overdeliberately—and the Boston Symphony violins are poorly reproduced. The Victor record offers in addition an unexciting performance of the Overture to Mozart's "Figaro" and the uninteresting Overture to Schumann's "Genoveva"; the Columbia record the excellent Harty-London Philharmonic performance of Harty's arrangement of Handel's Royal Fireworks Music.

Jerome Kern's superb songs from "Roberta" are excellently sung on a Columbia record by Joan Roberts, Jack Cassidy, Kaye Ballard, and others with chorus and orchestra under Lehman Engel's direction. The music of Lehar's "The Merry Widow," well sung by Dorothy Kirsten and Robert Rounseville among others, on another Columbia record, I didn't enjoy.

And after Louis Armstrong and Bessie Smith Columbia has given us on LP another of the legendary greats of jazz, the cornettist Bix Beiderbecke. Years ago one of his recorded performances was described in one of Otis Ferguson's most felicitous phrases—"as fresh and glistening as creation itself"; as for me, struggling to describe what made the playing unique and, for some people, more exciting and moving than any other, I spoke of "the unfailing continuity in [the] varied invention; the tensile strength of the continuous line of sound, and at the same time its delicacy; the boldly soaring attack or rise to a high point, the sensitive fall away from this high point or at the end of a phrase." I find these terms inadequate, but I have no better ones for what, in Beiderbecke's first phrase in "I'm Coming, Virginia," has sent chills down my spine and brought tears to my eyes. This and other of his outstanding recorded performances—"Singin' the Blues," "Clarinet Marmalade," "Ostrich Walk," "Riverboat Shuffle"—are on Columbia GL 508; and on 507 there are the outstanding "Jazz Me Blues," "Sorry," "At the Jazz Band Ball," "Since My Best Gal Turned Me Down," "Thou Swell," and "Ol' Man River"—the last two being examples of his wonderfully sensitive "straight" playing of hit songs. GL 509—with only a couple of good performances in addition to a group of Whiteman horrors in which Beiderbecke is heard briefly—can be skipped.

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PETER GAY will shortly publish "The Dilemma of Democratic Socialism."

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Letters to the Editors

An Anonymous Letter From the U. N.

Dear Sirs: I am one of the many intimidated members of the unhappy staff of the U. N. We read Leonard B. Boudin's article Dark Days at the U. N. in *The Nation* of December 6 with great interest, and we are grateful that there are still some attorneys in the United States who have the courage to defend peace-loving people. I am a national of a country that was invaded by the Nazis. My husband and my parents were killed by them. As I watch developments in the U. N. I see the pattern that Germany and later Austria went through, and I am horrified at the resemblance.

Please remember when you write on the U. N. personnel that journalists, writers, and top-ranking directors, as well as the rank and file of the secretariat, read every word said about us (and there are many here eager to see objective writing on the subject). We could not get enough copies of *The Nation* for December 6 to supply the people who were eager to read the article. Many of us had it typed.

If you could follow up that article with a longer, more explicit one, you would be performing a service to those who do not dare write and ask for another. Many thanks for the work you are doing for us.

New York U. N. EMPLOYEE

Another Dreyfus Case?

Dear Sirs: After the French Dreyfus Case was legally considered closed the court of public opinion busted it wide open. The Rosenberg case, considered closed by many people today, can be busted wide open as soon as important facts "freely" withheld by our "free" press manage to get loose. This letter will touch on only two of those facts.

One, which has received very limited publicity, is that the jury verdict and death sentence rest on the shakiest foundation—the testimony of two self-confessed spies who had the strongest incentive for lying. David Greenglass was unsentenced at the time he testified, and Ruth Greenglass, a co-conspirator in the indictment, was never brought to trial. The American conscience would stir more vigorously than it does if more people were aware of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals published opinion that "doubtless, if that [Greenglass'] testimony were disregarded, the conviction could not stand."

Another fact, *which has received no publicity whatever,* is that, whereas scientists, as far back as 1945, stated that there was no A-bomb secret for us to keep since the scientists of all countries knew it, the lawyers defending the Rosenbergs seem to have operated on the misconception that there *was* a secret. The trial transcript (pp. 499-500) shows that when the prosecutor introduced a diagram drawn from memory by David Greenglass, allegedly a reproduction of an A-bomb sketch which Greenglass claimed he had given to Rosenberg in 1945, the defense attorney requested that the court seal the sketch "so that it remains secret to the court, the jury, and counsel." The diagram, duly sealed, became inaccessible to scientists who might easily have exposed it as a brainstorm or fraud. That sealed sketch in the Rosenberg case bears a striking resemblance to the infamous *bordereau* in the Dreyfus Case, sealed legally by the French military court on the grounds of French national security *and unsealed by an aroused public opinion.*

In this same connection, the transcript further shows (pp. 500-501) that when the prosecutor asked Greenglass to explain his diagram, the Rosenberg defense came forth with the request that the courtroom be cleared of spectators while Greenglass was describing it. This explanation, *Time* said, "made little sense," and the science editor of *Life* thought his description of an implosion bomb "illogical, if not downright unworkable." But the dramatic clearing of the courtroom and the solemn sealing of an open "secret," both done at the inspiration of the defense attorneys, could not have failed to impress the jury, confuse the public, and lend a semblance of moral validity to the unprecedented death sentence handed down.

If, as seems to this layman, this was a serious error in judgment on the part of the defense attorneys, they could at this point best serve the interests of their hard-pressed clients by entering a motion for a new trial. Such a move, even if it carried no weight with legalistic-minded judges, is bound to carry plenty of weight with the court of public opinion before which the Rosenberg's case must now be actively prosecuted.

And speaking of the court of public opinion, I must sadly report that the left and liberal press, normally effective instruments of that court, are becoming infected with something which lies very close to thought control and censorship. As examples, a left publication, the *National Guardian,* which was active in publicizing the injustice in the Rosenberg case but failed to note the defense errors, rejected an ad for my recently published pamphlet, "Freedom's Electrocution," on the ground that "to pick flaws in the conduct of the defense is now an academic matter." On the other hand, the *New Republic,* known as liberal, refused to advertise my pamphlet on the ground that "the Rosenbergs are a Communist cause, and this being so, your advertisement falls in the category of those we no longer accept."

Amid this spreading bigotry and confusion, *The Nation,* which hospitably accepted the ad, shines like a beacon of *genuine* liberalism.

Los Angeles IRWIN EDELMAN

Why the Democrats Lost

Dear Sirs: The Nation's symposium of November 15, The Meaning of the Election, presents many good reasons for the Republican victory but does not, in my opinion, come to grips with the most important reason of them all. This, I believe, is that most of its contributors were so busy explaining why Eisenhower won that they failed to ask themselves the even more basic question: why did Stevenson lose?

The answer lies, more than anywhere else, in the inability of the Democratic Party to formulate a program that would provide a really dynamic alternative to the hopes, threats, and promises of the Republicans. Much of the Democratic campaign, in fact, geared itself to two talking points, both of them essentially negative: (1) "You never had it so good"; (2) "We Democrats are really just as anti-Communist as you Republicans, though we differ from you in the methods to be used for combating communism."

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The first slogan, as *The Nation* rightly pointed out in its November 15 editorial, angered multitudes of voters for whom it was simply not true. Not only this, but it antagonized many who recognized that the Democratic Administration deserved no credit for a prosperity based on an artificial war boom—a boom, they were afraid, which might collapse overnight if peace were achieved. At a pre-election political symposium here in Philadelphia, for example, a Democratic spokesman was asked from the floor what economic steps the Democrats proposed to take in the event of a settlement in Korea. Faced by this question, the spokesman displayed signs of embarrassment and was unable to give any definite reply. Apparently the possibility had never even occurred to him.

As to the second talking point, its unfortunate effect was to place the Democrats in the unhappy role of "me-too-ers," thereby causing them in effect to indorse McCarthyite objectives, even while protesting against McCarthyite procedures. To millions of voters it must have seemed that if the Republicans were right in diagnosing the chief danger to the Republic as Communist subversion, they must be equally right in the methods used by them to combat this danger.

This tacit acceptance by the Democrats of the basic Republican thesis prevented them from taking a constructive position effectively distinguishing them from the Republicans on many vital questions of foreign policy—notably that of a peace settlement in Korea. Hence when Eisenhower promised to go to Korea, Stevenson was powerless to give any adequate answer. If early in his campaign Stevenson had courageously pledged himself to an immediate cease-fire in Korea as a preliminary to further negotiations, and if he had steadily hammered away on this theme, I am confident that he could have been elected. This, however, he was obviously unable to do, for it was precisely such a cease-fire proposal that the Democratic Administration had rejected at the very beginning of the Korean truce talks and had thereafter consistently continued to reject.

The 1952 election demonstrates that the uneasy coalition which today calls itself the Democratic Party has become a political anomaly, a thing of shreds and patches. It was the realization of this fact as long ago as 1948 which at that time caused some people to look with favor on the creation of a third political party. To point to the subsequent history of that party is no real answer to its supporters. For what has in fact since happened need not have occurred if in the earlier stages so many Americans had not allowed themselves to be intimidated or confused by the intellectual atmosphere which was then already all-pervasive. Now, four years later, many readers of *The Nation* will perhaps agree that a Truman defeat in 1948 might have been a good deal better than the Eisenhower-Nixon victory we see today.

In 1949, when I was in China, I was not surprised to find most Chinese intellectuals welcoming the overthrow of the Chiang Kai-shek government, but I nevertheless felt keen disappointment at the failure of these same intellectuals to offer any real criticism of the government that followed. Since returning from China, however, events have forced me to adopt a more charitable attitude. Instead of pondering the failure of the intellectuals to speak out in authoritarian China, I have been compelled to wonder how it is possible for so many well-intentioned Americans in this democratic nation of ours to have retreated, step by step and with amazingly little outcry, from the concepts of decency, fair play, and open-mindedness which were once taken for granted.

During the next four years there will undoubtedly be much soul-searching among the many persons who, like myself, voted for the Democratic program, not because it was inspiring or seemed to promise peace, but because it seemed the lesser of two evils. Let us hope that during these coming years we and the world can retain sufficient sanity to save ourselves from the holocaust of a third world war.

Philadelphia DERK BODDE

Mugo's Defense

Dear Sirs: Readers of *The Nation* may be interested to know what finally happened to Mugo-son-of-Gatheru, the Kenya student who was unceremoniously ordered out of this country at the height of the political disturbance in his homeland. (See The Terror That Walks by Day, *The Nation,* November 29.) Mugo's friends at Lincoln University asked two alumni who compose the New York law firm of Mais and McDougald to represent Mugo. This firm secured the services of an outstanding specialist on immigration law, Jack Wasserman, to assist it.

On December 1 a suit was filed in Federal Court asking that cause be shown why Mugo's visa should be revoked and seeking an injunction against his arrest and deportation. The suit was withdrawn when government attorneys gave assurance that Mugo would not be molested until his case comes up for trial.

But Mugo's case is not fully won, though his lawyers are convinced he has broken no immigration laws. In their desperation to make a case, there is evidence that government lawyers are going to try to pin a "subversive" label on Mugo because he was active in the militant but non-Communist Kenya African Union. There are indications, too, that they plan to accuse him of "subversion" because of his close association with some of us at Roosevelt College who were unfairly smeared some years ago by the infamous Broyles committee. The case may be an extremely important one because the question what constitutes "subversion" under the terms of the McCarran act will be raised.

Mugo is penniless. Mais and McDougald are giving their services free, but money is needed to pay for specialist services, secretarial work, and travel expenses. President Bond of Lincoln University and members of his faculty have organized The Friends of Mugo Gatheru—a Committee to Insure an American Education to an African Student. Contributions are urgently needed. Regular reports on the progress of the case will be sent to contributors, along with an audited statement of expenditures. Any funds remaining from the defense will be used to further Mugo's education. A contribution today will be a real Christmas gift for Mugo. It should be mailed to Friends of Mugo, in care of Dr. Thomas M. Jones, Professor of History, Lincoln University, Pennsylvania.

Chicago ST. CLAIR DRAKE

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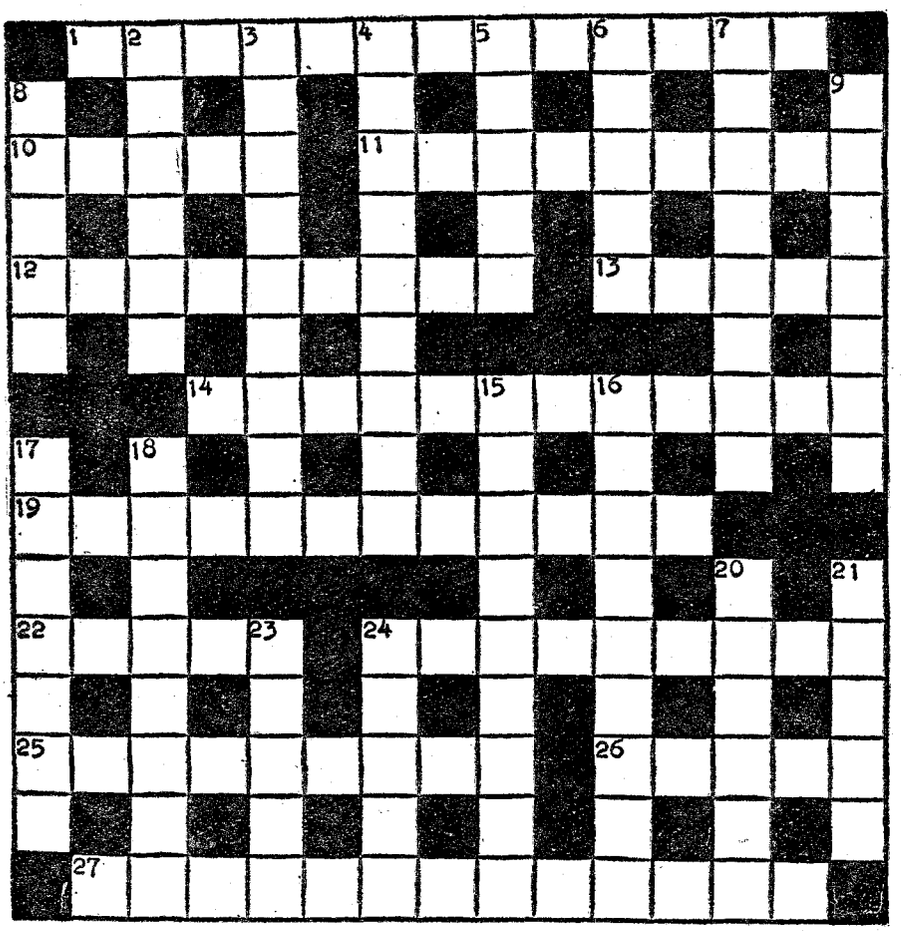
Crossword Puzzle No. 496

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Greyhound might be in it, but it often needs props. (5, 8)
10 Plant mud (at first, of course). (5)
11 Another name for tossing the caber? (It goes into the ground!) (9)
12 And more specifically, the parts of 11 get swapped in the forest. (5, 4)
13 Sort of like a ruler, but certainly not sort of small. (5)
14 On the other hand, you'd be just as good. (12)
19 The composer of the *Nell Gwyn* music certainly doesn't sound very British. (6, 6)
22 It's a joke with us, if we get it back in time. (3-2)
24 Such fruits burst open, and sort of hide an odor. (9)
25 Sliding scale for musicians? (9)
26 Medium instrument member. (5)
27 Not private cars, obviously! (7, 6)

DOWN

2 Pope said Satan does by making rich, not making poor. (6)
3 Fine old bodily fluid? (A child might hope to get around it, if his dad happens to be in one.) (4, 5)
4 You might, with a keen result. (9)
5 Land support, when an essential part of the cavalry is regrouped. (5)
6 Relatively subtle. (5)
7 Would it be found in both fish market and gun store? (8)
8 24 across, perhaps. (5)
9 Frisky, when just one short day? Dark, rather. (7)
15 War mother in the underground movement? (9)
16 Convey emotion. (9)
17 Time to eat? (Is this what Garcia waited on?) (7)
18 Implying a change of wives and a departure from the board. (4, 4)
20 Is he on edge in church? (6)
21 Lunchers may be due back to make amends. (5)
23 Sticks and stones might be. (5)
24 Mobile girl, well-known in opera? (5)

—— ✤ ——

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 495

ACROSS:—1 LOOK-OUT MAN; 6, 12 and 24 Across KEEP YOUR WITS ABOUT YOU; 10 OFFICES; 11 GRAMPUS; 13 FORUM; 15 OARED; 17 OVIPAROUS; 19 BULL'S-EYES; 21 TERSE; 23 SCULL; 27 INERTIA; 28 KALMUCK; 30 STANDPOINT.

DOWN:—1 LEON; 3 OSCAR; 4 TESTIMONY; 5 ARGUS; 7 ESPARTO; 8 PAST MASTER; 9 HALF-MAST; 14 COMBUSTION; 16 DESOLATE; 18, 2 and 29 IT'S NO SKIN OFF YOUR NOSE; 20 LOUVERS; 22 RIO MUNI; 24 AWAIT; 25 TULIP; 26 SKIT.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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Dear Friend:

The first response to the announcement that I am launching a weekly news letter of my own, was extraordinary. In less than three weeks, a mailing of 30,000 letters and ads in the New York Times, the New York Post, The Nation, and the National Guardian, drew 3,000 paid-up subscriptions to I. F. Stone's Weekly.

To those of you who subscribed, my thanks. To those of you who intended to subscribe but somehow forgot, will you subscribe TODAY on the coupon accompanying this letter? Or if you have already subscribed, will you get another friend to do so?

I. F. Stone's Weekly will be a four-page, letter-size (8½ by 11) miniature magazine, concentrating on coverage of what is probably the biggest story in the world today—the new Republican Administration in Washington. The first issue is scheduled to appear January 17.

I have no crystal ball and will not deal in predictions. I have no access to keyholes and will not dish up "hot stuff." I want to do as sober, accurate and principled a job of reporting as I can, to help the victims of oppression in our time; to reach thoughtful Americans still open, irrespective of political views, to plain facts and still willing to listen to fair argument.

My past work in The Nation, PM, the New York Star and the Compass, provides a sample of what I can do. With your support I can carry on and do my bit in the fight for peace and freedom. The wonderful letters I have received from many of you, have given me new confidence. I am launching out on this new enterprise with faith in America and the possibility of successfully defending its fundamental free principles.

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